

THE INFLUENCE OF RACIAL SOCIALIZATION, RACIAL IDEOLOGY, AND
RACIAL SALIENCY ON BLACK ADOLESCENTS' FREE-TIME ACTIVITIES

A Dissertation

by

HARRISON PARKER PINCKNEY, IV

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 2009

Major Subject: Recreation, Park & Tourism Sciences

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ABSTRACT

The Influence of Racial Socialization, Racial Ideology, and Racial Saliency on Black Adolescents' Free-Time Activities. (August 2009)

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Race has been considered to serve as a barrier to leisure for most Blacks. Such claims have been based on a few studies many of which are theoretically faulty. This dissertation research attempts to address the current shortcomings of the literature by exploring the relationships between racial socialization, racial identity, saliency, and the free-time choices of Black youth. Using a web-based survey, the relationship between the racial socialization behaviors of parents and development of racial ideologies is described. Findings provide support for the idea that specific race-related behaviors and messages and influence the development of one's racial identity. The results from the web-based survey are also used to test the Salience of Race in Leisure Questionnaire which is intended to determine the extent to which one considers race when selecting free-time activities. Finally, focus groups explore the race-related meanings that youth attach to their free-time activities. Findings provide information about the impact of racial socialization on the beliefs youth develop concerning Black and non-Black activities. In summary, this study provides a starting point for examining socialization and saliency as factors impacting the free-time decisions of Blacks. Much replication,

extension and application research will be required to extend findings from current results using student and general population samples.

The dissertation is organized in five sections. An introductory section presents the theoretical orientation for research. The second, third, and fourth sections explain the relationship between racial socialization, racial identity and saliency of race, and free-time activities. The final section provides a summary of the key findings of this dissertation.

DEDICATION

In memory of Tennessee Phillips

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There are many people who have contributed to my success at Texas A&M University. I would like to thank Dr. Corliss Outley who for nurturing my creativity, challenging me, and giving me the confidence to develop as an independent scholar. Her advising, mentorship, and friendship will serve as a model that I hope to one day emulate with my own students.

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INTRODUCTION

The United States is becoming increasingly diverse with projections of ethnic minorities equaling the number of non-Hispanic White Americans by 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). In certain parts of the country, these changes have already been experienced. This shift will have major implications on the field of recreation as the trends, preferences, and needs of those served by recreation agencies are also expected to change. The discrepancy between the demographic shift and our knowledge of these subpopulations and their leisure trends has been criticized (e.g. Floyd, 1998; Stodolska, 2000) and some have argued (Hutchinson 2000) that the study of leisure has failed to reflect the progress made within the larger discipline of race and ethnicity studies. For example, relatively few studies have focused on the leisure behaviors of African Americans (Floyd, Bocarro, & Thompson, 2008). The primary aim of many of these studies is activity participation and participation barriers of ethnic minority groups with some attention devoted to theory development (e.g. Phillip, 1999). As such, it is proposed that greater attention be given to understanding how race and ethnic studies are conceptualized and addressed in other disciplines, and apply these frameworks to leisure studies (Floyd et al., 2008).

Floyd et al. (2008) noted that this inadequacy in literature is further compounded when specifically examining studies involving African American youth. While

This dissertation follows the style of *Journal of Leisure Research*.

adolescence is marked as a difficult period within the lives of youth (Erikson, 1968), this process becomes more complex when studying Black youth as their race adds an additional developmental domain that must be negotiated during this period.

Although race is a socially constructed term, it has served a critical role in the shaping of this country's history and many of today's social interactions.¹ For Blacks especially, the social construction of race has contributed to social, political, economic, and educational injustices. These injustices have manifested into limited resources that hinder the positive development of African American youth (Olive, 2003). Given the shift in demographics, our limited understanding of race, and the need for greater incorporation of theoretical explanations; there is a need for fresh approaches to guide race and leisure studies. Such studies will provide a better understanding of how race influences leisure behaviors through the provision of theory. This increased knowledge can then be utilized to provide practical assistance to professionals working with Black youth populations.

One starting point that should be considered is to examine the beliefs and attitudes that individuals ascribe to their race and the social implications of those beliefs. These beliefs have been commonly referred to as ethnic identity or racial identity. While there is the temptation to use ethnic and racial identity interchangeably, attention must be given to distinguishing these two concepts. Shared ancestry, history, traditions and cultural traits are the premises upon which ethnicity is determined, while race is based

¹ NOTE: The term Black is preferred for this study. For the purposes of this paper, African American is used to maintain consistency with the term considered in specific studies. Please see definition section for further explanation.

on shared physical traits (Cokely, 2007). In addition, other authors have stated that particularly in the United States, race is a socially constructed ideology which influences identity. Thus one's ethnic identity will be based on their sense of belonging to a group of people with shared cultural histories and practices which could provide a completely different referent group from those who they identify as having similar physical features (i.e., racial identity). An example of this distinction is the ethnic categories African American and Haitian American sharing the racial category of Black. While race has a socially-constructed meaning, this concept has and continues to lead to real consequences such as discrimination and preferential treatment (Sellers, Shelton, Cooke, Chavous, & Smith, 1998). Historically this has been especially true in the case of Blacks living in America.

The beliefs and attitudes associated with racial identity serve as a catalyst for the behaviors of members of a particular racial group as they seek to conduct themselves in accordance with how they believe members of their race should act (Sellers, Shelton et al., 1998). Racial identity has been associated with outcomes such as academic success (Altschul, Oyserman, & Bybee, 2006), resiliency (Miller, 1999), positive drug attitudes (T. Townsend & Belgrave, 2000), and well-being characterized by global self-esteem, academic self-esteem, and purpose in life (Martinez & Dukes, 1997).

Racial Identity Development

The belief that ethnic/racial identity is critical to the psychological function of ethnic youth has been widely documented. Initially proposed by Erickson (1968), it was stated that youth who are members of minority groups which have been either oppressed

or exploited are likely to develop a negative identity and self-hatred by internalizing the negative views of the dominant society. Tajfel (1978) later expanded this idea by suggesting that membership to a denigrated minority group creates a psychological conflict for an individual by forcing them to choose between accepting the negative views of the majority group in society or rejecting these beliefs and searching for an alternate identity. Recognizing the need for youth to adopt this alternate identity, attention has grown beyond simply understanding racial identity to examining racial identity development and the outcomes associated with the development of this identity. As a result, researchers have proposed multiple models explaining how one comes to develop a strong “positive” racial/ethnic identity.

Theoretical Perspectives

William Cross’ Conversion Experience

Much of the currently available racial/ethnic identity literature has been influenced by the theoretical writings of Cross. Utilizing the term Nigrescence, which means the process of becoming black, Cross proposed five stages through which Blacks may progress in order to come to terms with their blackness (Cross, 1978). These stages were referred to as the “Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience” and include: (a) Pre-Encounter, (b) Encounter, (c) Immersion-Emersion, (d) Internalization, and (e) Internalization-Commitment (Cross, 1971).

The pre-encounter stage is characterized by Blacks who maintain a worldview that is dominated by White America. It is at this stage that Blacks act, think, and behave in a manner that is degrading to their blackness. Cross furthermore suggests that this

stage is relevant across classes, making both poor and middle class Blacks susceptible to black degradation. The primary distinction between these two social classes however, is the actual behaviors by which this stage is manifested. One example that is often considered is that of hair styles. Cross acknowledges that there was a time during which poor blacks placed lye in their hair in order to make it straight, while middle class blacks purchased an “Ivy League” haircut. While these were two different approaches to avoiding wearing a natural hairstyle, such as an afro, the goal of removing oneself from being black was the same.

The point at which a black person is awakened to their black culture and begins to reevaluate the world around them as a result is known as the encounter. Two critical occurrences must take place in order for this stage to be experienced. First, the person must experience an ‘encounter’ that dislodges them from their old worldview. This experience could range from a social event to an interaction with an individual. The key is that their eyes are opened and they become receptive to understanding an alternative interpretation of their identity. The second step of this stage is experienced as the individual begins to search for their Black identity. According to Cross, this is the time in which the person makes the decision to become Black.

The third stage is referred to as the immersion-emersion stage and is considered the most difficult stage of nigrescence. During this transitional period the person seeking to achieve blackness is attempting to dissociate himself from all old perspectives while simultaneously understanding his new frame of reference and the personal implications to which it is attached. It is during this stage that the individual moves beyond simply

rejecting the old paradigm for the new one, to critically analyzing the world and his or her encounters with it. This is a result of the individual believing that he or she has greater control of him or herself.

While Black persons achieve a high level of blackness during the third stage, this new identity has not yet been fully internalized. The personalization of the new identity is experienced during the fourth stage, internalization. This stage denotes the resolving of conflicts between the “old” and “new” worldviews. Whereas prior stages might have been characterized by anti-White feelings, individuals who reach this stage become open and willing to establish relationships with White associates. The key difference here when compared to the pre-encounter stage however, is that the individual now uses other Blacks as their reference group instead of Whites.

Cross referred to the final stage as internalization-commitment. This stage is characterized by group versus individual thought patterns. It is at this stage that the individual is no longer seeking to improve his or her standing in society, but is committed to the progression of all Blacks. This becomes evident as he or she seeks to develop a plan and actively works to change their community. This is a stage that Cross would argue many do not achieve as most Blacks stop at the internalization stage.

While this model has been widely accepted and used, it has its shortcomings. First, the model assumes a global Black identity from which all behaviors can be predicted. It is possible for an individual’s racial identity to vary in strength based on the context. As a result, a person may choose to participate in a demonstration for racial equality and at the same time choose to not support a black-owned business. Thus,

attention must be given to how one's behavioral manifestation of their racial identity may fluctuate given the situation. Additionally, this model gives little attention to the social factors that might promote or hinder this conversion experience. While Cross recognizes that another individual or individuals may be involved in the encounter stage, no mention is made prior to or after this stage to suggest that others play any role in the overall racial identity development process. This oversight could lead one to assume that ethnic identity development takes place within a vacuum. Although it can be assumed that Cross is not arguing this point, he does leave one to speculate the role of others in the racial identity process.

Phinney's Frameworks of Ethnic Identity

In her review of the ethnic identity literature, Phinney (1990) acknowledges three conceptual perspectives that have been taken towards examining ethnic identity. The first research perspective has been conducted within the framework of social identity. According to the social identity theory, individuals gain a sense of belonging that contributes to a positive self-concept as a result of their membership to a group (Tajfel, 1978). A unique challenge is experienced in situations where a dominant group holds the individual's group (e.g. ethnic minority group) in low esteem. This could potentially lead to developing a negative social identity. In situations such as this, members of the low-status group may consider multiple alternatives in order to improve their status. If possible, individuals may attempt to "pass" as a member of the dominant group. This option is not always available however, as some individuals are racially distinct (e.g. Black) and therefore categorized by others as being members of an ethnic group.

Another alternative is to develop pride in one's group. Still others may choose to reinterpret the characteristics that the dominant group regards as "inferior" so that they no longer appear inferior. This approach was clearly taken during the black movement during the 1960s and 1970s with the mantra "black is beautiful." A final alternative is to stress the distinctiveness of one's own group. The celebration of Black athletes' dominance in sports such as basketball exemplifies this approach.

Ethnic identity formation is another approach often taken. This perspective is similar to that of Cross (1971), but it is based on the theoretical writings of Erickson (1968) and its operationalization by Marcia (1966). As the identity development process is inspired by two actions (exploration and commitment), three statuses are proposed: diffuse, foreclosed, and achieved identity (Phinney, 1989). Diffuse status is characterized by an individual that has not explored any identity options nor committed to establishing an identity. This diffuse state may be the result of someone's identity not being salient to them at a particular point in time. An individual who has made a commitment to an identity without considering and/or exploring other options is said to be in foreclosed status. This status is typically reflective of someone who has accepted the identity of those around him or her. Finally, an achieved identity is obtained when someone explores identity options and then commits to the maintenance of the option that is most reflective of what they believe.

The final framework for studying ethnic identity is acculturation (Phinney, 1989). This process is examined in situations in which two or more ethnic groups interact over a period of time. The focus of acculturation examines how individuals

relate to their own subgroup within a larger society. A linear, bipolar model and two-dimensional model guide the approach. The linear, bipolar model conceptualizes ethnic identity as a continuum ranging from strong ethnic ties to strong mainstream ties. This model proposes that an ethnic individual must sacrifice one identity for the other, forcing them to choose to either maintain a strong ethnic identity or become a member of the mainstream population. The two-dimensional model (Table 1.1) is an alternative approach to the linear, bipolar model. This model suggests that an individual may negotiate their ethnic identity and the identity of the dominant culture independently. Strong or weak identification with both their ethnic culture and the mainstream culture results in one of four orientations.

TABLE 1.1. Ethnic Identity Acculturation Model.

| Identification with majority group | Identification with ethnic group | |
|---------------------------------------|--|-------------|
| | Strong | Weak |
| Strong | Acculturated Integrated Bicultural | Assimilated |
| Weak | Ethnically identified Ethnically embedded Separated Dissociated | Marginal |

The first orientation is referred to as acculturated (strong majority and strong ethnic group identification). These individuals are able to negotiate their identities with both their own ethnic group as well as the majority group with ease. Individuals with a

weak ethnic identity and strong majority group identity are referred to as assimilated as they have adopted the mainstream culture. The exact opposite orientation (weak majority and strong ethnic group identity) are referred to as separated. Finally, those who have not committed to developing a strong ethnic or majority group identity are referred to as marginal.

These three frameworks of ethnic identity provide a more rounded approach than Cross' model to understanding how individuals develop their ethnic identity. However, these approaches provide challenges to understanding the racial identity development of Black youth. The major strength of the social identity approach is that it brings attention to the referent group's significant role in the identity development of the individual. However, it mainly focuses on the viewpoint of the dominant group at large. This stance fails to acknowledge the interactions that may occur between an individual and members of the dominant group. It is very possible for these individual interactions to have a greater impact on strengthening or weakening of the individual's social identity versus the dominant group. As a result, for example, a Black youth may be aware of the dominant group (White) devaluing them because of their race, but have a White teacher who encourages him or her to succeed in school. Such an interaction could arguably have a greater impact on the youth's identity and viewpoint of the dominant group. As such, feelings of inferiority when compared to the dominant group may be buffered. Viewing the dominant group on a global level without considering the interactions between the dominant group and the individual provides a partial understanding of how the dominant group impacts the individual's racial identity.

Another primary concern is with the labeling of acculturation orientations.

Individuals maintaining a strong ethnic identity and weak majority identity are referred to as separated or dissociated. While some researchers may ignore the meanings behind labels, terms such as these suggest a negative connotation associated with not accepting the majority identity. Placing a value system on the identities developed versus outcomes can be problematic as they may lead researchers to creating biases at the outset (Sellers, Shelton et al., 1998).

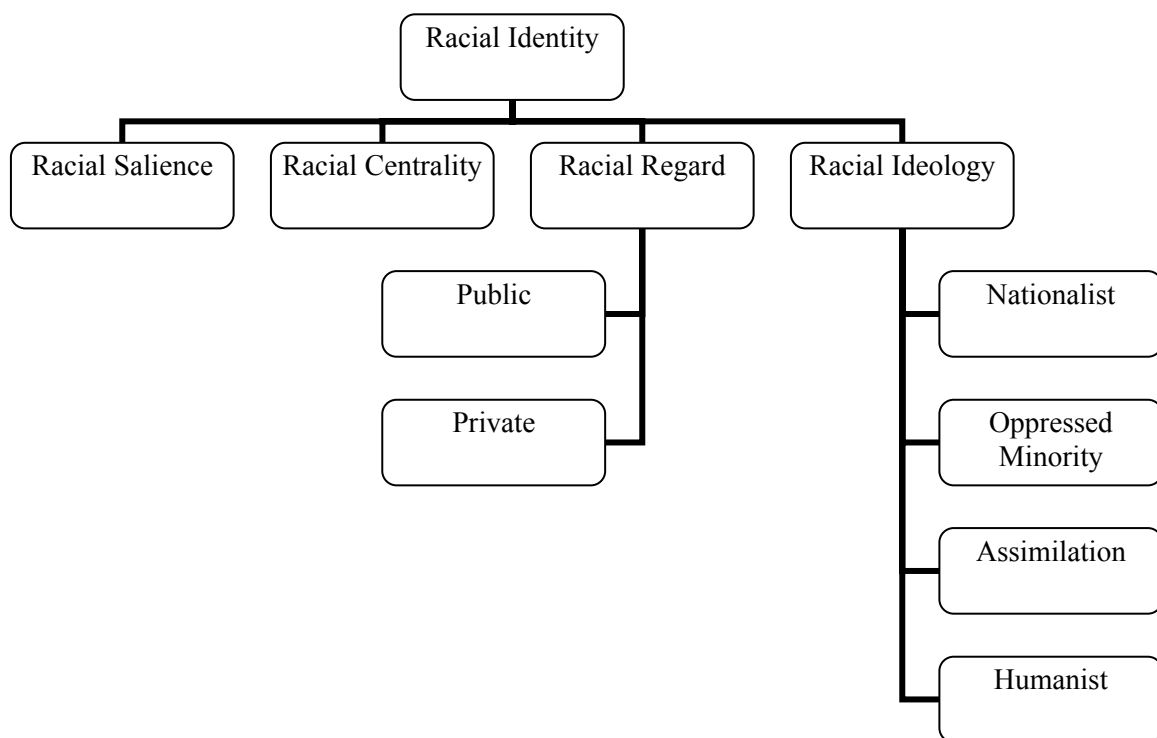


FIGURE 1.1. Schematic Representation of Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity.

Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity

A need to develop a value-free system for understanding racial identity development was recognized by Sellers et al. (1998b). They indicated that it would be beneficial to combine these three approaches to ethnic identity, to understand how social groups influence the identity development process and how individuals negotiate these identities while considering the presence of the majority group.

Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith (1997) addressed some of the previously mentioned theories' shortcomings through the introduction of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI; Figure 1.1). Four assumptions provide the foundation for the MMRI (Sellers, Shelton et al., 1998). First, this model assumes that racial identity has properties that are both situationally-dynamic and stable. These properties will influence an individual's global outcomes as well as behavior in specific situations. Secondly, this model assumes that individuals have a number of identities which they rank in an order of hierarchy. It is the order given to these identities that impact the behavioral decisions made by individuals. The third assumption embraced by this model is that the individual's perception of their racial identity is the most valid indicator of their identity. This approach focuses on the individual's self-perception instead of defining the individual's identity using objective criteria. A perspective such as this avoids making a value judgment as to what constitutes a healthy versus unhealthy racial identity. Finally, this model assumes that the racial identity of the African American self-concept is complex and multidimensional in nature. No single dimension of the MMRI can fully reflect Black racial identity, so multiple dimensions of

racial identity must be considered with each dimension representing a different way in which racial identity is manifested.

Based on these assumptions, the MMRI presents four independent dimensions: identity salience, the centrality of the identity, the regard for which a person holds African Americans, and the ideology associated with identity to determine the attitudes and beliefs that might influence one's behavior. The extent to which one's racial identity is a significant part of their self-concept at a particular moment, refers to their identity salience. This particular dimension is context specific as it associated with a specific event, the individual's inclination to define him or herself in terms of race, and the proximal behaviors that occur from these two factors. As such, salience is considered both a somewhat unstable dimension and the means by which the other three dimensions influence how an individual experiences a particular situation.

The centrality dimension determines whether race is a core part of an individual's self-concept. Centrality recognizes the multiple identities that one may possess such as gender or occupation, the hierarchical order given to these identities, and their proximity to one's core definition of self. This dimension is associated with salience as the more often racial identity is salient, the more likely it is to become a core part of one's self-definition. Additionally the more central one's race becomes to their self-concept, the more likely it is to become significant in racially ambiguous situations.

Regard, the third dimension, represents a person's evaluative and affective judgment of his or her race. Positive and negative feelings towards African Americans and one's membership with that group are considered. The regard dimension consists of

two components private regard or the extent to which one maintains positive or negative feelings towards African Americans and their membership to that group, and public regard which describes the extent to which one feels others harbor positive or negative feelings towards African Americans. This public regard component was included as the authors believed that the perceptions of other groups influenced one's own perceptions of their group.

The last dimension of racial identity is ideology which is comprised of the beliefs, opinions, and attitudes one possesses towards the way he or she feels members of the race should act. More specifically, attention is given to how the individual believes African Americans should interact with other members of society, both African Americans and members of other ethnic groups. Four specific ideologies have been proposed by MMRI. A nationalist ideology emphasizes the uniqueness of the “Black experience”, while the oppressed minority philosophy focuses on the common struggles shared by African Americans and other oppressed/minority groups. The viewpoint of an assimilationist philosophy highlights the commonalities between African-Americans and the rest of American society. Finally, a humanist ideology presents the similarities of all humans regardless of race or nationality. These four ideologies are believed to be manifested across four areas of functioning: political-economic issues, cultural-social activities, intergroup relations, and interaction with the dominant group. It is hypothesized that an individual can and often will possess one ideology while maintaining other philosophies that will vary depending on the area of functioning being considered.

Racial Identity Operationalized

Sellers, et al. (1997) altered the MMRI to develop the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI). This was accomplished by removing the salience of racial identity dimension as it was believed to be vulnerable to situational influences. The MMRI and MIBI are proposed to provide major contributions to the African American racial identity literature. One suggested strength of this model includes the provision of differential aspects of an individual's racial identity, allowing researchers to more accurately examine the varied facets of racial identity along with their interactions with another dimensions of racial identity. This provides an opportunity to not simply focus on "black behaviors" or make value judgments to determine which racial identities are either positive or negative. Instead, this model allows the research to reveal which particular identity is optimal for the behavior under consideration (Sellers, Morgan, & Brown, 2001).

Previous racial/ethnic identity measures focused on specific behaviors or attitudes associated with being African American. Sellers et al. (1997) suggested that there is no consensus as to which attitudes and behaviors are truly representative of African Americans thus leading to inconclusive findings among some racial identity studies. The MIBI approach allows each individual to determine to what extent they identify with being African American and self-report the attitudes and behaviors they associate with their identity. This particular model represents a synthesized version of the dominant racial identity development models (i.e., Nigrescence model, Ethnic

identity formation model, acculturation model, etc.), thus highlighting the strengths of the previous models while diminishing their shortcomings.

Saliency of Race

According to Phinney (1990) and Sellers (1993), most Black racial identity studies have failed to identify the process by which racial identity influences an individual's behavior in specific situations. Instead, attention has generally been given to stable aspects of racial identity and its impact on global outcomes such as self-efficacy and resilience. Thus very little is known about how Blacks including youth will behave within specific contexts as a result of their racial identity. Sellers et al. (1997) proposed that the key to understanding the influence of Black racial identity on situation specific behaviors is to give consideration to salience.

It has been widely accepted that the self is comprised of multiple identities (Erikson, 1968). Recognizing these multiple identities, Stryker and Serpe (1982) suggest that identity salience represents the ways that identities are organized into a salience hierarchy. One perspective is that this organization of identities is defined by the likelihood of each of these identities being considered in a given situation. The alternative perspective indicates that it is defined by the probability each identity has of being invoked across a variety of situations. Following the second proposition, the authors suggested that an identity's location in a salience hierarchy will affect the likelihood of behaviors resulting from that identity. The interaction of that identity with both the situation at hand and self-characteristics (e.g. self-esteem or satisfaction) will determine whether or not that identity-related behavior will occur. Finally, based on the

identity theory, they propose that salience is transsituational or remains somewhat constant from one situation to the next. Later it was noted that salience is both independent and distinct of centrality (Stryker & Serpe, 1994). While centrality remains a constant, salience becomes critical to one's identity as a result of the role that individual must serve at a given time. Another key factor of salience is that it entails a commitment to an identity versus simply recognizing that identity as being important.

Adopting Stryker and Serpe's concept of identity salience, the MMRI incorporates racial saliency as an unstable dimension of racial identity (Sellers et al., 1997). Their conceptualization however, differs from the initially proposed concept in that they consider salience to be situationally specific as opposed to transsituational. Thus, racial salience can vary across individuals and situations (Sellers, Shelton et al., 1998). As a result, individual differences in racial salience should manifest itself in otherwise racially ambiguous situations, such as leisure behaviors. The extent to which one's racial identity becomes salient in an ambiguous situation is determined by that individual's self-concept. For example, being the only Black member of an all-White cross-country team may become salient for some youth, while others may not consider race salient in the same situation.

In relation to the racial identity model proposed by Sellers and his colleagues, racial salience is believed to serve as a mediator between the three stable dimensions (centrality, ideology, and regard) and the way individuals behave in specific situations (Sellers, Shelton et al., 1998). As a result individuals may behave differently when their group identity is made salient even when the group identity is not associated with the

event at hand. This impact is suggested to be a result of racial salience influencing the individual's perception of the situation. A Black person for whom race is salient may consider poor service at a golf course to be the result of racism, while another person for whom race isn't salient is more likely to attribute the service another factor such as poor customer service practices. These differing perceptions within the same situation will lead to different implications in terms of behaviors for the two. The person for whom race is salient may cease from playing golf, while the person for whom race is salient may continue playing golf and even visit the same golf course.

Sanders-Thompson (1999) built on these theoretical writings by empirically examining the factors that may contribute to the development of racial identity salience. She found that racial socialization and interaction with other African Americans were significantly correlated with racial identity salience. This finding implies that racial groups may have strong internal processes that influence the identity of its members. Attitudes favoring political activism and income were also significantly associated with racial identity salience. The findings concerning political activism suggests that issues associated with perceived injustice or group inequity may affect the salience of racial identity. Finally, it was found that racial identity salience was a strong predictor of racial identity attitudes among African Americans. Considering the impact of racial identity salience on the development of racial identity attitudes, Sanders-Thompson suggested that further attention should be given to the conditions influencing the racial identity salience such as racial socialization. Doing so will provide a better understanding of how

racial identity attitudes develop and how the process differs as the aspect of identity of concern shifts.

Racial Socialization

To understand how one's identity is developed, attention must be given to the messages youth receive about race and race relations. Racial socialization is a combination of verbal and non-verbal messages younger generations receive in order to develop their own values, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs about the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification, interactions within and between racial groups, and their personal identity (Lesane-Brown, 2006). Thomas and Speight (1999) further explain that racial socialization is not only the producer of racial identity, but the product of the racial identity of the individuals influencing the youth. Thus racial socialization and racial identity are permanently intertwined (Stevenson, 1995). This relationship has been supported through multiple empirical studies (e.g. T. G. Townsend & Lamphier, 2007; Woods & Kurtz-Costes, 2007).

Stevenson (1995) suggested that while Black youth receive messages about who they are from multiple sources (i.e. media, school, peers, etc.) parents have the primary task of educating Black youth about their status in society as a result of their race. This process is considered especially salient to Black parents as they are cognizant of the potential discriminations their children may encounter in life. They believe they have a distinct responsibility as Black parents of racial socialization.

While most studies focus on the role of parents in shaping the racial identities of Black youth, Brega and Coleman (1999) found other family members as well as other

members of the youth's immediate environment (microsystem) have a direct impact on the racial socialization of Black adolescents. Multiple theoretical frameworks that have been utilized to explain the process of racial socialization (Lesane-Brown, 2006).

The first approach, the life course perspective, explains how an individual's life is influenced through social change within historical time periods (Lesane-Brown, 2006). Elder (1994) suggests that social change, individual development, and biography are all interconnected within the life course perspective. As it relates to race, the messages about race that are transmitted from one generation to the next are highly dependent on the social conditions and values of that particular time period (Park, 2004).

The social-cognitive learning theory is another framework utilized to explain racial socialization. This theory proposes that observation, modeling, vicarious reinforcement, and imitation lead to the adoption of behaviors (Bandura, 1977). By observing actions and behaviors, Black youth may learn about the meaning of race and how they should handle race-related situations. For example, Black youth whose parents interact negatively with White adults may imitate these behaviors by not getting along with their White classmates.

Statement of Problem

While race has been explored in leisure studies, studies have not explored the internal and external processes that guide the free-time activities of Black youth. This study provides an opportunity to examine these relationships and add to what is known about the impact of racial identity on adolescent free-time activities. Additionally, this information will provide guidance for professionals working with Black youth in

designing and providing free-time activities that will appeal to these youth. With this in mind, this study will explore the relationship between racial socialization, racial identity, salience of race in leisure, and free-time activities of Black youth.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between racial socialization, select domains of racial identity (e.g. centrality and ideology), racial saliency, and the free-time activities of Black youth. Three research objectives will be addressed through this study.

- Objective 1: To examine how racial socialization is associated with select dimensions of racial identity (i.e. ideology and centrality).
- Objective 2: To explore the relationship between racial identity and salience of race in leisure.
- Objective 3: To understand the race-related meanings that Black youth give to their free-time activities.

Significance of Research

The study objectives are designed to obtain results that have theoretic and practical implications. Examining the role of racial socialization in the development of racial ideology could possibly assist youth serving agencies seeking to support the development of Black youth in two ways. First this study may help to identify sources of influence that contribute to the racial socialization of Black youth. While it is currently understood that parents, peers, and others have strong direct impacts on the development of adolescents' racial identity; little is known about how the strength of these relationships influence the racial identity. Additionally, the field can benefit from a

better understanding how the dimensions of racial socialization work together to impact the development of racial identity and more specifically racial ideologies.

Exploring the relationship between racial identity and free-time activities can provide a fresh theoretical framework for understanding the relationship between race and leisure. Hutchinson (2000) argued that the leisure literature has failed to acknowledge the advancements made in the mainstream race and ethnicity literature. Using the racial socialization and racial identity development theoretical frameworks provides a link between the race and ethnic studies and leisure studies. Adopting the racial identity development context expands race and leisure studies by focusing on internal race-related processes that influence leisure behavior. Thus far, race and leisure studies have primarily focused on external factors that serve to promote or hinder participation in leisure activities. These efforts entail the introduction of a new scale. The Salience of Race in Leisure Questionnaire is designed to examine issues of race in leisure choices. Finally, this study will expand the racial identity literature by exploring racial identity's impact on participation in free-time activities. Thus far, studies examining the relationship between racial identity and behavioral outcomes have focused solely on academic achievement.

In addition, understanding the race-related meanings that Black youth give to their free-time activities will provide a rich description of free-time activities and the race-related meanings ascribed to those activities. This description will provide insights that cannot be gained from simply conducting a free-time activity inventory. These insights can aid in selecting and providing free-time activities that appeal to Black youth.

In addition to this, such information can be beneficial in intentionally designing programs that promote the development of Black youth by enabling agencies to be better equipped to understand the race-related meanings these youth attach to their free-time activities.

Definitions

African American: Americans of African descent born, raised, and living in the United States (Scott, 2005)

Black: Black persons born and raised in the United States as well as those Black persons born and raised outside of the United States (i.e. immigrants). This is broader than the term ‘African-American’ which technically defines only those born and raised in the United States. It also includes those who are biracial or multiracial (Scott, 2005)

Centrality: the extent to which a person normatively defines her or himself with regard to race (Sellers et al., 1997)

Favorite free-time activities: the activity that youth most enjoy participating in during their free-time

Free-time: the period to time during which youth participate are not devoted to school work, chores, or personal care

Racial identity: the attitudes and beliefs regarding the significance and meaning that people place on race in defining themselves (Sellers, Shelton et al., 1998)

Racial ideology: the individual’s beliefs, opinions, and attitudes with regard to the way she or he feels that the members of the race should act (Sellers, Shelton et al., 1998)

Racial salience: the extent to which a person's race is a relevant part of her or his self-concept at a particular moment in time (Sellers et al., 1997)

Racial socialization: specific verbal and non-verbal messages transmitted to younger generations that promote the development of values, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs regarding the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification, intergroup and intragroup interactions, and personal group identity (Lesane-Brown, 2006)

Delimitations

The following delimitations are present in this study:

1. The sample used in this study was delimited to youth who: (a) identified as Black or African American , (b) were from an urban community in Miami Gardens, Florida, (c) were in grades 6 to 8, (d) and were accessible to the researcher.

Limitations

The following limitations are present in this study:

1. The use of the term “favorite free-time activity” limits the possibility of responses. This term will only allow the study to understand youth's participation in one activity as opposed to recognizing the wide range of activities that youth may engage in during their free-time.
2. Data collected through self-reported measures are not always accurate, as subjects may not understand what is asked of them, or choose not to be truthful.
3. The survey is determined to be at an 8th grade reading level. This may present a challenge as some of the participants in the study, may not be reading at this level. For other students, English was not their first language.

4. May not be generalizable due to site and participants.

The focus group responses might be hindered as a result of the involvement of non-Black youth (i.e. Asian and Arabic) participating in group discussions.

PREDICTORS OF RACIAL IDEOLOGIES IN BLACK YOUTH

Introduction

The goal of understanding racial identity among Blacks and its impact on psychological and behavioral outcomes has led to the development of multiple models that attempt to measure racial identity. While utilized for decades, models presented by authors such as Cross (1971) and Phinney (1990) have been criticized as being limited in their scope and thus effectiveness (e.g. Sellers, 1993). One critique of these models is that they attempt to measure the strength of one's racial identity and determine the value of that identity's strength (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). Another shortcoming is the assumption that a global Black identity exists from which all behaviors can be predicted.

Today the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997) is widely accepted and considered an appropriate tool for measuring racial identity as it attempts to resolve some of the limitations of previous models. The authors of the MIBI indicate that their model is value-free, meaning that it does not attempt to determine whether an individual's racial identity is positive or negative (Sellers, Shelton, Cooke, Chavous, & Smith, 1998). This model also avoids determining which behaviors or beliefs are "Black", given that many scholars have accepted that the term Black is socially constructed and its meaning has changed over time. Instead, Sellers et al. (1997) identifies three interacting dimensions (centrality, regard, and ideology) that shape one's racial identity.

Although the MIBI presents a value-free approach to understanding black identity, studies have attempted to understand how specific behaviors are impacted by the model's dimensions (e.g. Byars-Winston, 2006). Attention has especially been given to the racial ideology dimension, which measures how one feels members of their race should act. While these studies do not give merit to one ideology being more important than another, the findings do suggest that the possession of some ideologies are more significantly correlated to behavioral outcomes than other ideologies. This is particularly true when examining the racial identity of youth given they are in the formative stages of their development. Consequently, attention should be given to understanding how these ideologies are developed among this age group. Such consideration can provide insight as to how to assist youth in achieving positive outcomes through ideology development. Examining the processes that impact this development is the first step to understanding how race-related attitudes and beliefs impact behavior.

As attitudes and beliefs do not develop in isolation, attention should be given to the factors that influence the development of the racial identity of youth. The process by which youth receive messages about who they are in respect to their race has been referred to as racial socialization (Stevenson, 1995). These messages have been linked directly to racial identity development and in some cases youth behaviors (e.g. Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). The concept of racial socialization is closely aligned with the ecological systems theory proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1979) which focuses on the interactions of youth and their environment. This framework suggests that youth develop their beliefs and attitudes through interactions with multiple environments (e.g. family, school,

community, etc.). Additionally, there are interactions between the environments that impact the development of youth (e.g. conference between a youth's family members and school administrators). Finally, Bronfenbrenner (1979) acknowledges that youth are active agents of their own development and as a result, have an impact on their environment. Adopting this approach can assist in understanding how racial socialization can affect the development of youth's racial ideology.

While the association between racial ideology and behavioral outcomes has been examined, little is known about how one's ideology is developed from a young age. More specifically, the impact of racial socialization on the development of racial ideology is not yet understood. Thus the purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between racial socialization and racial ideology among Black youth.

Review of Literature

Black Identity

The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI; Table 2.1) was originally developed specifically for purpose of measuring the racial identity of Blacks (Cokely & Helm, 2001). One of the four assumptions this model is based on is that the racial identity of the African American self-concept is complex and multidimensional (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). As no single dimension can fully reflect Black racial identity, the MMRI considers multiple dimensions with each representing a different way in which racial identity is manifested: identity salience; the centrality of the identity; the regard for which a person holds African Americans; and the ideology associated with identity. Together these dimensions are believed to determine

the race-related attitudes and beliefs that might influence one's behavior. Prior to the MMRI's development, very little was understood about racial identity beyond the recognition that it was important in the lives of African Americans (Sellers et al., 1997). Through the introduction of the MMRI, Sellers and his colleagues have addressed some of the deficiencies of previous models, by providing a more comprehensive approach to examining racial identity.

Recognizing that salience (i.e. the extent to which one's race is a significant part of their identity within a given situation) was unstable and vulnerable to situational influences, it was removed from the proposed MMRI (Sellers et al., 1997). The remaining dimensions (i.e. centrality, regard, and ideology) were operationalized to develop the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) (Sellers, Shelton et al., 1998).

The *centrality* dimension identifies the likelihood of one defining him or herself with regard to race by measuring how essential race is to an individual's self-concept. This dimension is proposed to be closely related to the salience dimension presented in the MMRI. *Regard* represents one's feelings towards his or her race. These feelings are proposed to be the result of one's collective self-esteem which is impacted by their *private* and *public* regards. Private regard highlights the individual's positive and negative feelings towards African Americans and their membership to that group, while public regard emphasizes the individual's perception of the positive and negative views others hold of African Americans. The last dimension, *ideology*, is comprised of the beliefs, opinions, and attitudes one possesses towards the way he or she feels members

of the race should act. Items address how the individual believes African Americans should interact with both African Americans and members of other ethnic groups.

TABLE 2.1.
Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity Dimensions

| Dimension | Description |
|---------------------------|--|
| Salience | The extent to which one's race is a significant part of their identity within a given situation |
| Centrality | The extent to which a person typically utilizes race in defining him or herself |
| Regard | A person's assessment and feelings of his or her race |
| <i>Private</i> | One's positive or negative feelings towards African Americans and their membership to that group |
| <i>Public</i> | One's perception of the positive or negative feelings that others have towards African Americans |
| Ideology | |
| <i>Nationalist</i> | Emphasizes the uniqueness of the "Black experience" |
| <i>Assimilationist</i> | Highlights the commonalities between African-Americans and mainstream American society |
| <i>Oppressed Minority</i> | Recognizes the common struggles shared by African Americans and other oppressed groups |
| <i>Humanist</i> | presents the similarities of all humans regardless of race or nationality |

Four specific ideologies have been proposed. A *nationalist* ideology emphasizes the uniqueness of the "Black experience", while the *oppressed minority* ideology focuses on the common struggles shared by African Americans with other oppressed groups. The viewpoint of an *assimilationist* ideology highlights the commonalities between African

Americans and American society. Finally, a *humanist* ideology presents the similarities of all humans regardless of race or nationality.

These four ideologies are believed to be manifested across four areas of functioning: political-economic issues, cultural-social activities, intergroup relations, and interaction with the dominant group. As a result, it is hypothesized that an individual can and often will possess one ideology while maintaining other ideologies that will vary depending on the area of functioning being considered. While it is emphasized that no values should be placed on the ideologies in regards to one being better than another (Sellers et al., 1997), studies have been conducted to determine the association between the ideologies and various outcomes.

For example, Sellers, Chavous, and Cooke (1998) examined the relationship between racial ideology, centrality, and academic achievement for African American college students. They found that racial ideology was negatively associated with the academic outcomes for students displaying either a nationalist or assimilationist ideology. These groups of students also reported lower grade point averages (GPAs). The authors proposed that while the assimilation ideology de-emphasizes the importance of race, race is still very relevant within society placing these youth at a disadvantage as they may not be fully prepared for the prejudice and discrimination that may take place. Those with a nationalist ideologist were believed to display lower GPAs due to perceptions these youth might have developed about their status as an African American. As such these individuals see themselves in conflict with a mainstream society that devalues African Americans.

In another study, Byars-Winston (2006) empirically tested the relationship between racial ideology, self-efficacy variables, outcome expectations, career interests, and perceived career barriers for undergraduates enrolled at a HBCU. She found a positive association between the assimilation ideology and outcome expectations (students' perceptions of the value of educational attainment to their future career plans and desired lifestyle). The author proposed that this was possibly due to these students not perceiving any barriers to future opportunities as a result of their race. There was also a positive relationship between the nationalist ideology and perceived barriers. It was suggested that this relationship possibly reflected the students personifying this ideology were aware of their social status and its associated consequences such as obstacles to career entry and progression. At the same time however, there was a positive relationship between the nationalist ideology and range of career interests. Byars-Winston (2006) suggested that this could be the result of a protective function that having a strong Black referent group provide, buffering these students from racial occupational stereotypes. No significant relationships were examined between the humanist and oppressed minority ideologies and the outcomes considered.

Studies such as these suggest that some ideologies appear to be more effective in promoting certain desirable outcomes than other ideologies. So while one cannot state, for example, that an assimilationist ideology is inherently better than a nationalist ideology, an assimilationist ideology appears to be most likely to be associated with a student's belief that a college degree will lead to greater future outcomes (Byars-Winston, 2006). As a result, in this situation the development of such an ideology might

be considered beneficial to the individual. However, it has been suggested that the assimilationist ideology is negatively associated with GPA as students reflecting this ideology might not be prepared to face and negotiate prejudice and racism (Sellers, Chavous et al., 1998).

As pointed out by Sellers et al. (1998b), the benefit of a multidimensional approach to racial identity is that it allows the individual to maintain more than one ideological viewpoint and ascribe to that ideology depending on situation at hand. Thus a college student, for example, can adopt an assimilationist ideology under one set of circumstances and still maintain nationalist's ideas under a different set of circumstances. Recognizing the varied impacts that racial ideologies can have, it is useful to understand how these ideologies are developed. Such an understanding can provide insight about how to promote the positive development of Black youth through development of their racial identity.

Racial Socialization

The ecological systems theory proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1979) emphasizes the role of the adolescent's environment in shaping their development. Bronfenbrenner (1979) proposed that the social development of youth is influenced by multiple environment levels (i.e., microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem). More specifically these environmental levels influence what youth come to believe about who they are and their status in society, including what it means to be Black (Lesane-Brown, 2006). This process of learning about race and race related messages is commonly referred to as racial socialization.

Racial socialization is a combination of verbal and non-verbal messages younger generations receive from adult members of their community in order to develop their own values, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs about the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification, interactions within and between racial groups, and their personal identity (Lesane-Brown, 2006). Thomas and Speight (1999) further explain that racial socialization is not only the producer of racial identity, but the product of the racial identity of the individuals influencing the youth. Thus racial socialization and racial identity are intertwined (Stevenson, 1995). This relationship has been supported through multiple empirical studies (e.g. Thomas & Speight, 1999; Townsend & Lamphier, 2007; Woods & Kurtz-Costes, 2007).

Stevenson (1995) suggested that although Black youth receive messages from multiple sources (i.e. media, school, peers, etc.) parents have the primary task of educating Black youth about race and their status in society. This process is considered especially salient to Black parents as they are cognizant of the potential discrimination their children may encounter in life. They believe they have a distinct responsibility as Black parents for racial socialization (Stevenson, 1995).

In their comprehensive review of racial socialization literature, Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, and Sellers (2005) identified a number of dimensions that have been used to measure racial socialization. Through their review of multiple studies, three dimensions appear to be consistently included when considering the concept of racial socialization: prevalence, content, and frequency of messages (i.e. Hughes & Chen,

1997; Sanders-Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002).

Each of these variables is presented in Table 2.2.

Prevalence refers to the process of transmitting race messages to youth. The actual messages conveyed are embodied in the dimension content. Two themes consistently found within the content dimension are those of *promotion of mistrust* and *preparation for bias* (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Promotion of mistrust messages encourage Black youth to mistrust the White majority, while preparation for bias messages are designed to prepare Black youth for future encounters with prejudice and discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1997). *Frequency* acknowledges both the wide array of messages youth receive about race as well as those messages which are most emphasized. A dimension that is not as prevalent within racial socialization measures, but equally important, is *socialization behaviors* and refers to nonverbal messages that are transmitted (Lesane-Brown et al, 2005). Examples of socialization behaviors include reading Black books to youth or escorting youth to Black specific cultural events (Hughes & Chen, 1997).

TABLE 2.2
Racial Socialization Variables

| Variable | Description |
|------------------------------|--|
| Prevalence | are parents transmitting messages and are youth receiving them |
| Content | the types of messages parents are transmitting |
| <i>Promotion of mistrust</i> | promoting the racial mistrust of other groups |
| <i>Preparation for bias</i> | preparation for encountering prejudice and discrimination |
| Frequency | the dominant messages youth receive about race |
| Socialization behaviors | teaching cultural values, customs, and traditions |

While attention has been given to the development of racial identity through racial socialization, few attempts have been made to fully understand how racial identities are manifested or the behaviors associated with them. It is possible that youth may develop different racial identities as a result of certain racial socialization dimensions being present while others are absent or one message being more prevalent than others. While these interactions between racial socialization have not yet been carefully examined, they may be directly or partially responsible for the development of the four distinct ideologies proposed by Sellers et al. (1997). As a result, this exploratory study intends to investigate how the dimensions of racial socialization contribute to the development of racial ideology among youth. Figure 2.1 depicts the proposed relationship being explored.

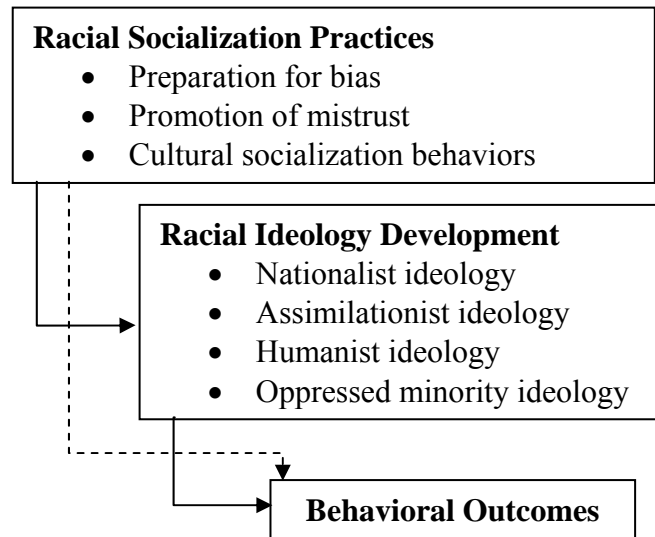


FIGURE 2.1. Proposed Relationship Between Racial Socialization and Racial Ideology Development.

Methods

The following methods were used to conduct a study to explore the relationship between racial socialization and racial ideology among Black youth.

Participants

Study participants were drawn from a middle school in an urban city in South Florida. The city was incorporated in 2003 and with 105,457 residents is the third largest city in the county (www.miamigardens-fl.gov). This city has the largest predominantly African American population (79%) in the State of Florida, including a large population of Caribbean residents. Many of the residents of this city are considered working and middle-class with the household average income being \$46,473 (www.city-data.com).

The middle school had an enrollment of 1,262 students in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. Ninety-three percent (1,171) of these students had been identified as African American. Approximately 70% of the students were eligible for the Federal free or reduced lunch program. The middle school also houses a Visual and Performing Arts Magnet, which requires auditions as a criterion for acceptance. As one of the goals of magnet programs within the school district is to desegregate schools, students were recruited from communities demographically different from the local community to enroll in this program. However, due to recent budget cuts there were an increasing number of students enrolling in the magnet from the local community.

This study was the result of the combined efforts between researchers at *Texas A&M University* and *Pennsylvania State University*. The school district's *Office of Program Evaluation* was contacted to review and approve the proposed study. The study was also approved by both universities' Institutional Review Boards. The purpose of the study was to examine a wide range of factors believed to influence the positive development of Black youth including the availability of community resources and how these resources impacted Black youths' free-time activities. The items pertaining to racial identity and racial socialization provided a secondary dataset for use in this particular study.

The researchers collaborated with the school to recruit participants (e.g., speaking to groups of students, teachers, and administrators). The school's administrators were contacted prior to visiting the campus. All students at the school are required to take a social studies course. Thus, teachers from these classes were asked to

assist in the recruitment of students. Social studies classes of all grades were randomly selected to participate in this study. Students enrolled in the selected classes were provided with parental consent forms that were to be signed and returned to the students' social studies instructor.

A total of 304 adolescents, grades 6th through 8th participated in this study (age $M=12.9$, $SD=1.03$). Of the participants 62% were female; 89% identified themselves as being Black or African American. This classification included youth identifying themselves as being of Caribbean descent (e.g. Jamaican, Bahamian, etc.). An accurate count of Black Caribbean students was unavailable. Additionally, 63% reported eligibility for the Federal free or reduced lunch program.

Measures

Demographic Information. Demographic information was collected including gender, age, grade, racial identity, family structure, and SES. SES was determined by the student's Federal lunch program status (e.g. does student receive free or reduced lunch). Two components of racial identity were collected: self-identified racial background and language primarily spoken at home.

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Teen (MIBI-T). The MIBI-T (Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyen, 2005) is an adolescent version of the MIBI (Sellers et al., 1997). By analyzing data from focus groups with African American adolescents the MIBI was analyzed to determine the appropriateness of existing items for youth. This process resulted in the 21-item MIBI-T being constructed for used with adolescents. Participants indicated their responses by using a Likert-type response scale from 1

(strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Twelve of the twenty-one items from the MIBI-T were intended to measure the four proposed racial ideologies. Each ideology was measured by three items. When testing the reliability of these measures for this study participants, Cronbach's alphas of .74 (Assimilationist), .71 (Humanist), .74 (Oppressed Minority), and .83 (Nationalist) were yielded.

Racial Socialization. Building on a study involving focus groups with Black parents, Hughes and Chen (1997) developed a three dimensional scale to measure the methods by which Black youth receive racial messages. The three dimensions developed were Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, and Promotion of Mistrust. This 16-item measurement was scored on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from never (1) to often (5). Nine items measured preparation for bias ($\alpha = .88$), while five items measured cultural socialization ($\alpha = .85$), and promotion of mistrust ($\alpha = .90$) was measured by two items.

Procedures

Students completed web-based surveys on site either in one of the school's computer labs or library at different times during the day depending on the availability of students and the school schedule. Parental consent and participant assent were obtained. Prior to being taken to the computer lab, participants were informed of the purpose of the study and the voluntary nature of participation. Only the students who had received parental consent were taken to the computer lab. Students who did not participate in this study remained in their social studies classes and were given an extra credit to work on. Students who agreed to complete the survey were also awarded extra

credit for their participation in the study. Through the use of an online survey instrument (hosted by *Survey Monkey*), participants completed the demographic information questionnaire, MIBI-t, and racial socialization surveys. Approximately 45-60 minutes were taken for participants to complete the study questionnaire. Students who agreed to participate in the study were entered into a drawing for one of fifteen iPod shuffles and one of 150 Target gift cards valued at \$10 for participation.

Results

The means for each of the indicators and outcomes were examined prior to data analysis (Table 2.3). The means for the racial socialization variables (indicators) ranged from 1.73 to 2.59. This means indicate that the youth perceived that their parents rarely provided them with race-related messages. The racial ideology variables' (outcomes) means indicated that the youth most identified with the oppressed minority ($N=247$, $M=3.81$), humanist ($N=250$, $M=3.60$), and nationalist ($N=254$, $M=3.52$) ideologies and identified least with the assimilationist ($N=249$, $M=2.12$) ideologies. The standard deviations, variance, skewness, and kurtosis scores indicate the acceptability of these means.

TABLE 2.3
Outcome and Indicator Means

| | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Variance | Skewness Statistic | Std. Error | Kurtosis Statistic | Std. Error |
|---------------------------|-----|------|-------------------|----------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Outcomes | | | | | | | | |
| Nationalist | 254 | 3.52 | .91 | .99 | -.288 | .153 | -.128 | .304 |
| Assimilationist | 249 | 2.12 | .97 | .94 | .715 | .154 | -.130 | .307 |
| Oppressed Minority | 247 | 3.81 | .88 | .78 | -.658 | .155 | .374 | .309 |
| Humanist | 250 | 3.60 | .99 | .99 | -.295 | .154 | -.539 | .307 |
| Indicators | | | | | | | | |
| Preparation for Bias | 235 | 2.50 | .92 | .85 | .281 | .159 | -.484 | .316 |
| Cultural Socialization | 236 | 2.59 | 1.05 | 1.09 | .229 | .158 | -.620 | .316 |
| Promotion of Mistrust | 245 | 1.73 | 1.12 | 1.25 | 1.396 | .156 | .826 | .310 |

The correlations among study variables are presented in Table 2.4. Results show that although the magnitude of the relationships was relatively low, promotion of mistrust was significantly related to the assimilationist ($r=.34$, $p<.05$) ideology in the positive direction. That is as exposure to promotion of mistrust increases so did the adolescents' identification with the assimilationist ideology. Results also indicated that promotion of mistrust was inversely related to the oppressed minority ideology ($r=-.14$, $p<.05$). Specifically, increases in promotion of mistrust were associated with decreases in the oppressed minority ideology score.

TABLE 2.4
Intercorrelations Between Key Study Variables

| Variable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|--------------------------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1 Promotion of Mistrust | | | | | | |
| 2 Preparation for Bias | .49* | | | | | |
| 3 Cultural Socialization | .51* | .69* | | | | |
| 4 Nationalist | -.05 | .15* | .15* | | | |
| 5 Assimilationist | .34* | .12 | .16* | -.02 | | |
| 6 Oppressed Minority | -.14* | .19* | .12 | .21* | -.09 | |
| 7 Humanist | -.12 | .02 | -.02 | .04 | .05 | .49* |

* $p < .05$

In examining the relationships among preparation for bias and the four ideologies, a significant positive correlation was found with the nationalist ($r = .15$, $p < .05$), and oppressed minority ($r = .19$, $p < .05$) ideologies suggesting that youth who reported receiving messages about preparation for bias reported higher identification levels with the nationalist and oppressed minority ideologies. Finally, there were significant associations found between cultural socialization and the nationalist ($r = .15$, $p < .05$) and assimilationist ($r = .16$, $p < .05$) ideologies.

In order to examine the shared association of promotion of mistrust, cultural socialization, and preparation for bias with the four racial ideologies; the three racial socialization variables were used as predictors of each of the four racial ideologies in separate multiple regression analyses (see Table 2.5). When considered as a set, cultural socialization possessed a unique characteristic that was positively associated with the nationalist racial ideology ($r = .25$, $p < .05$) while promotion of mistrust was negatively associated with the nationalist ideology ($r = -.25$, $p < .05$; adjusted $R^2 = .05$). For predicting the assimilationist racial ideology, promotion of mistrust was uniquely ($r = .37$, $p < .001$)

related to the criterion in a regression model that explained 11% of the adjusted variance when all three variables were considered as a set. Preparation for bias ($r=.26, p<.05$) and promotion for mistrust ($r=-.26, p<.001$) were distinctly predicative of the oppressed minority ideology in a regression model that explained 9% of the adjusted variance when the three racial socialization variables were considered together. The regression equation conducted to predict the humanist racial ideology was insignificant.

Discussion

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity has been widely accepted as an effective tool for measuring the racial identity of Blacks. While this model is designed to be value-free, studies support the idea that dimensions within the model interact to produce racial identities that are more suitable for promoting or discouraging specific behaviors, especially where youth are concerned. As such it is important to examine how these ideologies are developed. Racial socialization provides a starting point for understanding this process by examining the impact of racial socialization dimensions on the development of the four ideologies proposed by the MIBI. The present study sought to examine this relationship.

Low means were noticed for the three racial socialization variables. These means could indicate that on average the respondents perceived that their parents rarely exposed them to race related messages and activities. While these means were found to be normative, explanations for the low means should be sought. First, it should be noted that the measures of racial socialization were based on the perceptions of the youth. Hughes and Chen (1997) note that parental racial socialization messages may not be

TABLE 2.5
Multiple Regressions for Racial Socialization Variables Predicting Racial Ideologies

| Variable set | <i>B</i> | <i>SE B</i> | β | <i>p</i> | <i>R</i> | Adj. <i>R</i> ² | <i>F</i> _(model) |
|------------------------|----------|-------------|---------|----------|----------|----------------------------|--|
| Nationalist | | | | | .25 | .05 | <i>F</i> (3,215) = 4.67, <i>p</i> < .004 |
| Preparation for Bias | .13 | .09 | .13 | | | | |
| Cultural Socialization | .15 | .08 | .18* | | | | |
| Promotion of Mistrust | -.15 | .06 | -.18* | | | | |
| Assimilationist | | | | | .35 | .11 | <i>F</i> (3,211) = 9.89, <i>p</i> < .000 |
| Preparation for Bias | -.07 | .09 | -.07 | | | | |
| Cultural Socialization | .02 | .08 | .02 | | | | |
| Promotion of Mistrust | .34 | .07 | .37*** | | | | |
| Oppressed Minority | | | | | .32 | .09 | <i>F</i> (3,211) = 8.21, <i>p</i> < .000 |
| Preparation for Bias | .26 | .09 | .27** | | | | |
| Cultural Socialization | .08 | .08 | .09 | | | | |
| Promotion of Mistrust | -.26 | .06 | -.32*** | | | | |
| Humanist | | | | | .16 | .01 | <i>F</i> (3,211) = 1.84, <i>p</i> < .140 |
| Preparation for Bias | .16 | .11 | .15 | | | | |
| Cultural Socialization | -.03 | .09 | -.04 | | | | |
| Promotion of Mistrust | -.16 | .07 | -.17* | | | | |

**p* < .05.

***p* < .01.

****p* < .001

specifically directed towards their youth. As a result, youth may not be immediately cognizant of the messages being transmitted.

Another explanation that must be considered is the parents' own racial socialization as parents' encounters with race-related situations and, child characteristics impact parents' willingness to racially socialize their youth (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Consequently, all Black parents may not be compelled to transmit race-related messages to their youth. This might especially be true of parents of Caribbean descent. Unlike African American parents, Caribbean Black families have been found to socialize their children about their ethnicity rather than about racial issues and discrimination (Rong and Brown, 2002). Such socialization messages could contribute significantly to a racial identity that is considerably distinct from that of African American youth. More specifically, these messages might be more likely to promote either an assimilationist or humanist ideology as Caribbean parents are less likely to promote messages of discrimination and racism (Thomas, Caldwell, Faison, and Jackson, 2009).

Significant relationships were found between the racial socialization variables and many of the racial ideologies. Such findings provide initial support for the potential relationship between specific racial socialization practices and racial ideology development. To test the predictability of these racial socialization variables on racial ideology, regression analyses were conducted. This analysis measured the extent to which each variable contributed to the prediction of racial ideologies when considered as a group.

The significant positive relationship between cultural socialization and the nationalist ideology suggests that exposure to Black culture can enhance one's sense of Black pride. This relationship is not unexpected as highlighting the strengths of one's culture should lead to feelings of pride being developed within the individual. At the same time, cultural socialization had no impact on the development of the three remaining ideologies (i.e. assimilationist, oppressed minority, and humanist) when considered with preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust. This result is not surprising as exposure to Black heritage, history, and culture further emphasize the uniqueness of being Black, which directly reflects the nationalist ideology and contradicts the ideals of the other ideologies (Sellers et al., 1997).

The preparation for bias variable was significantly associated with the oppressed minority ideology. As a result, those individuals who were exposed to messages warning against the possibility of prejudice were more likely to display feelings or beliefs of being an oppressed minority. Interestingly, this variable was significantly associated with the oppressed minority, but not the nationalist ideology. Therefore, these participants were more likely to view their status as one of a minority facing the same prejudices as other minority groups versus them facing challenges that were unique to Black people.

On the other hand, the increase in messages of mistrust resulting in an increase in the ideals of the assimilationist ideology appears to be contrary to theoretical expectations. Nor was it anticipated that the increase in mistrust messages would result in a decrease in the nationalist or oppressed minority ideologies. In fact, the opposite

relationships might have been expected for each of these ideologies. There are a number of explanations that should be considered for these findings. These findings may be the result of child effects not previously considered within the scope of this study. For example, it is possible that Black youth initially develop assimilationist ideologies. Parents recognize this ideological development prompting them to respond with messages of mistrust for the white majority. This is a reaction that has been examined previously (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 2004). While parents encourage youth to succeed in areas such as academics, they also warn against not becoming too trusting of the White majority.

The findings regarding the promotion of mistrust and the nationalist and oppressed minority ideologies were also unexpected. As both of these ideologies highlight the distinctions between individuals who identify with either of these groups and the White majority, one would expect there to be a positive relationship with the mistrust variable. Instead an inverse relationship occurred. What these findings suggest is that while an explanation for these findings is not readily available, one should not assume that the possession of either of these two ideologies does not necessarily translate into one mistrusting the White majority. Both ideologies as defined by Sellers et al. (1997) do not highlight any negative ideals towards the White majority. Instead the nationalist ideology emphasizes the uniqueness of being Black and the oppressed minority ideology underlines the shared experiences of all minorities. Furthermore the items associated with these ideologies for the MIBI-T highlight behaviors specific to the in-group and in no way refers to the White majority (Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyen,

2005). As a result it is possible for one to possess either ideology and not feel the need to mistrust the White majority.

Limitations

There were several limitations in the current study. First, this study was incorporated into a larger study with a much wider focus that extended beyond understanding the racial identity of Black youth. As a result, much consideration had to be given to issues of time students could be asked to participate in the study. The researchers and school agreed to a maximum of 45 minutes for students to get to the computer lab and complete the survey since the data were collected during the school hours. This further restricted the breadth of items that were included in the web-based survey. This methodological limitation led to limitations associated with the measurement of variables as well as the analysis of data. Specifically, this study limited the researcher's ability fully examine racial identity and racial socialization.

Not examining the entire MIBI model limited the ability to determine the full relationship between racial socialization and racial identity. Sellers et al (1997) noted that the multiple dimensions proposed interact to comprise one's Black identity. As a result, findings such as the relationship between promotion of mistrust and the nationalist and oppressed minority ideologies are left to speculation. However, if the regard variable had been examined efforts could be made to confirm that possibility that the youth maintained positive public regard ideals thus having a mediating effect on such messages and the possession of racial ideologies. Examining interaction of multiple

dimensions of racial identity could further assist in accounting for these and other findings.

Secondly, the racial socialization measures were limited in several ways. First, they were based on the perceptions of the youth participating in the study and not the actual practices adopted by parents. This approach could lead to discrepancies in what is actually occurring in comparison to what is being perceived. Considering the socialization behaviors of parents in addition to the perceptions of the youth could provide a richer context for understanding the racial socialization process and how it impacts racial identity formation.

This study also examined three specific racial socialization behaviors. Lesane-Brown (2006) acknowledges that there are multiple means, in addition to the ones considered in the study, by which parents socialize their youth. Additionally, it has been suggested that youth are influenced by sources other than family such as media, peers, and teachers (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). While the youth in this study reported low frequencies of parental socialization, it is very possible that parents utilized methods this study did not consider. It is equally possible, that the behaviors provided by parents are countered by interactions with other sources of influence. Measuring a wider range of racial socialization behaviors, as well as, giving attention to other sources of influence will provide a more accurate indicator of the messages that youth are receiving and how these messages are being transmitted.

Another methodological limitation of this study is that the population of youth was comprised of African Americans and Caribbean Blacks. This might impact the

overall responses as the youths' national and ethnic backgrounds might influence their perceptions of Black identity and the meanings they ascribe to their race. This could be due to varied ethnic histories, experiences, and messages that are more closely attached to their distinct heritage versus a global group of Blacks (Rong & Brown, 2001). Future studies should seek to work with a homogenous population of youth who are identified as belonging to a single ethnic/national group or attempts should be made to account for these subgroups in the analyses. This approach will allow for greater determination of group similarities. Alternatively, studies should specifically focus on the relationship between the racial socialization and ideology development for Caribbean Blacks as distinct racial identity differences have been examined between members of this group and African Americans (Thomas, Caldwell, Faison, and Jackson, 2009).

Limitations were also presented in the analysis of the data. In their introduction of the MIBI, Sellers et al. (1997) acknowledge that an individual may possess more than one racial ideology and that these ideologies might vary across four areas of functioning. While the possession of multiple racial ideologies has been proposed, it is not currently measured this way. Instead studies such as this one measure a global racial ideology without giving consideration to presence of other ideologies that might be less prominent. Such measurements lead to the categorization of individuals determined by their dominant ideology. Ideologies, as initially proposed, may be more fluid and thus it is not prudent to oversimplify its analysis by identifying one as either possessing or not possessing a particular ideology. Also, racial ideology should be considered within context as Sellers et al (1997) propose that the dominant ideology can vary across a

number of situations. As such, it is difficult to identify a single dominant ideology that can predict behavior without first considering the circumstances an individual is presented with.

Finally, this study used cross-sectional data. This only provides a snap shot of the phenomenon being examined. Consequently, the true predictive nature of the racial socialization variables cannot be determined. A more appropriate means of examining this relationship would be through the utilization of a longitudinal study that was able to more precisely account for the introduction of racial socialization messages and the resulting attitudes over a period of time.

Theoretical Implications

The contribution of this study to the area of racial identity in Black youth was that it helped articulate how racial socialization behaviors relate to racial ideology formation. These findings showed that the race-related messages and activities that Black youth are exposed to are related to the racial ideologies they develop. However, this study was unique in that it placed greater emphasis on the perceptions of youth instead of parents. Previously, the messages and behaviors of parents were the focus of such studies as researchers were most concerned with the means by which parents socialize youth. This study provides a rationale for providing more attention to understanding the messages that are received and not just those that are transmitted as the received messages are possibly a more valid indicator of race-related behaviors than the messages transmitted. This further reinforces the Ecological Systems Theory that the

development of youth is influenced by the youths' environment as their interactions with the environments around them assists in shaping their identity (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Future Research

In considering the future direction of this research, there are three specific areas that should be considered. First, future studies should examine all three dimensions proposed by the MIBI and not just the ideology dimension and how each dimension is impacted by specific racial socialization behaviors. Examining all dimensions collectively would provide a better perspective the nature of the relationship between socialization and racial identity development.

In addition to considering all of the dimensions of racial identity as proposed by Sellers et al. (1997), specific attention should be given to the analysis and understanding of racial ideology. As an individual can possess multiple ideologies, focusing on a single ideology is limiting in that it ignores the presence of the other ideologies that are not as dominant at that time. Alternatively, future research should focus on ideology-types. Recognizing the presence of multiple ideologies offers an opportunity to examine the interactions within this variable and how they might work collectively to impact behavior. For example, one's dominant ideology may be identified as nationalist however; the presence of a less dominant assimilationist ideology might lead to a distinctively different outcome in the political domain compared to an individual possessing a dominant nationalist ideology with the absence of an assimilationist ideology. As ideologies are currently examined, this nuance is overlooked as both individuals are viewed as representative of the nationalist ideology.

Finally future studies should be designed to better understanding how youth process racial socialization messages. While much is understood about many of the means by which parents transmit verbal and nonverbal messages about race; little is understood about how youth receive, process, and act upon these messages. In examining racial socialization, a mixed-methods approach should be considered to better understand how race-related messages are received by youth. Through the use of current racial socialization measures, we can continue to understand how youth perceive the efforts and behaviors of their parents to teach them race-related lessons. Through qualitative studies we can begin to examine how youth interpret the messages they receive from parents and how these interpretations influence their identity development and subsequent behaviors. Additionally, such methods can assist in identify other sources of socialization (i.e. media, peers, White majority) and how these sources contribute to racial identity development.

SALIENCE OF RACE IN LEISURE: A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION

Introduction

The United States is becoming increasingly diverse with ethnic minorities projected to equal the number of non-Hispanic White Americans by 2050 (US Census Bureau, 2004). This shift will have major implications for the field of recreation as the preferences and needs of those served by recreation agencies are also expected to change. Relatively little is currently known about the recreation preferences of ethnic minority groups. For example, relatively few studies have focused on the leisure behaviors of African Americans (Floyd, Bocarro, & Thompson, 2008). The primary aim of many of these studies is on activity participation and participation barriers of ethnic minority groups with some attention devoted to theory development. The discrepancy between the demographic shift and our knowledge of these subpopulations and their leisure trends has been criticized (e.g. Floyd, 1998; Stodolska, 2000) and some have argued (Hutchinson 2000) that the study of leisure has failed to reflect the progress made within the larger discipline of race and ethnicity studies. As such, it has been proposed that greater attention be given to understanding how race and ethnic studies are conceptualized and addressed in other disciplines, and apply these frameworks to leisure studies (Floyd et al., 2008).

Floyd et al. (2008) noted that this inadequacy in the literature is further compounded when specifically examining studies involving African American youth. While adolescence is a difficult period within the lives of youth (Erikson, 1968), this

process becomes more complex for Black youth as their race adds an additional developmental domain that must be negotiated during this period.

Although race is a socially constructed term, it has served a critical role in the shaping of United States' history and many of today's social interactions. For Blacks especially, the social construction of race has contributed to social, political, economic, and educational injustices. These injustices have often been manifested in the limited resources available to African American young people, which can hinder their positive development (Olive, 2003). Given the shift in demographics, our limited understanding of race, and the need for greater incorporation of theoretical explanations; there is a need for fresh approaches to guide studies examining the relationship between race and leisure. Development of theory will help provide a better understanding of how race influences leisure behaviors. This increased knowledge can then be utilized to provide practical assistance to professionals working with Black youth populations.

Additional attention needs to be given to examining the beliefs and attitudes that individuals ascribe to their race and the social implications of those beliefs. These beliefs have been commonly referred to as ethnic identity or racial identity. The beliefs and attitudes associated with racial identity are believed to serve as a catalyst for the behavior of members of a particular racial group as they seek to conduct themselves in accordance with how they believe members of their race should act (Sellers, Shelton, Cooke, Chavous, & Smith, 1998). A strong sense of racial identity has been associated with outcomes such as academic success (Altschul, Oyserman, & Bybee, 2006),

resiliency (Miller, 1999), positive drug attitudes (Townsend & Belgrave, 2000), and well-being (Martinez & Dukes, 1997).

In leisure contexts, individuals possess multiple identities (Stryker & Serpe, 1982). As a result, an individual must negotiate a hierarchy of their identities to determine which identity is most salient at any given point (Stryker & Serpe, 1994). The identity that is given the greatest level of importance will have the most significant impact on the individual's attitudes and behaviors that the time. Thus, according to Stryker and Serpe (1994) it cannot be taken for granted that a person of color's race or ethnicity will influence their leisure choices. Instead, attention should first be given to identifying the extent to which an individual considers race when choosing leisure activities. It is important to recognize one's consideration of race, as an understanding of racial salience in leisure can have major implications on how we come to examine the relationship between race in leisure in future studies.

Drawing from what is already understood about leisure, racial identity, and salience and race; the intent of this study was to modify and test a tool intended to measure the extent to which Black youth consider race when making leisure choices.

Review of Literature

Several different theories have guided our understanding of the relationship between race and leisure. Marginality has been used to emphasize how leisure barriers related to minority status impact African American's choices and experiences within leisure settings (Washburne, 1978). More specifically, African American's participation rates in specific activities are not comparable to that of the White majority as a result of

limited access to resources. The ethnicity or subcultural theory argues that the participation in leisure activities vary based on the value systems, norms, and socialization patterns of each ethnic or racial group (Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, & Noe, 1994). As a result cultural processes are more important than factors such as socioeconomic status in selection of leisure activities. The third theoretical approach perceived discrimination which highlights the historical role of prejudice and discrimination in the United States (Phillipp, 1998). Accordingly, discrimination has led Blacks to associate certain activities as “white activities” and others as “black activities”. This perception of leisure activities as race-based encourages Blacks to participate in activities that will be approved by their Black peers.

While these theories have been adopted and reviewed on multiple occasions within the leisure studies literature, they have their shortcomings. First, these theories fail to acknowledge the presence of other identities and thus assume that people of color give consideration to race when selecting from a series of leisure options. It is very possible that leisure choices are based on other identities (i.e. gender, athletic, familial) that are not directly associated with their race. Secondly, race is viewed as a primary barrier to participation for people of color. Again, this approach fails to recognize the possibility that factors other than race are equally or more significant in deterring or encouraging participation. Finally, people of racial or ethnic minority backgrounds are often viewed as a homogenous group. For example, all African Americans may be perceived as viewing race in a similar manner when considering leisure activities. While it might not be feasible to examine every subgroup within this population, attention

should be given to recognizing the similarities and differences within ethnic groups based on larger classifications such as age, class, gender, country of origin, etc. This will assist in recognizing how race messages vary based on other levels of organization and how these factors work together to impact leisure choices.;

Racial Identity Development

The belief that ethnic/racial identity is critical to the psychological functioning of ethnic individuals has been widely documented. Erickson (1968) stated that youth who are members of minority groups which have been either oppressed or exploited are likely to develop a negative identity and self-hatred by internalizing the negative views of the dominant society. Tajfel (1978) later expanded this idea by suggesting that membership in a denigrated minority group creates a psychological conflict for individuals by forcing them to choose between accepting the negative views of the majority group in society or rejecting these beliefs and searching for an alternate identity. Today much attention is placed on examining how racial identity is developed and its associated outcomes. This has led to multiple models being proposed which explain how one comes to develop a strong “positive” racial/ethnic identity.

One such model is the multidimensional model of racial identity (MMRI) proposed by Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith (1997). The MMRI (Table 3.1) was developed specifically for Blacks and has become a widely accepted means of measuring racial identity (Cokely & Helm, 2001). Previous racial/ethnic identity measures focused on specific behaviors or attitudes associated with being African American. Sellers et al. (1997) suggested that there is no consensus as to which attitudes

and behaviors are truly representative of African Americans thus leading to inconclusive findings among some racial identity studies. Widely used and accepted today, the MMRI allows each individual to determine to what extent they identify with being African American and self-report the attitudes and behaviors they associate with their identity. This particular model represents a synthesized version of the dominant racial identity development models (i.e., Nigrescence model, Ethnic identity formation model, acculturation model, etc.).

TABLE 3.1
Dimensions of MMRI

| Dimension | Description |
|---------------------------|--|
| Salience | The extent to which one's race is a significant part of their identity within a given situation |
| Centrality | The extent to which a person typically utilizes race in defining him or herself |
| Regard | A person's assessment and feelings of his or her race |
| <i>Private</i> | One's positive or negative feelings towards African Americans and their membership to that group |
| <i>Public</i> | One's perception of the positive or negative feelings that others have towards African Americans |
| Ideology | |
| <i>Nationalist</i> | Emphasizes the uniqueness of the "Black experience" |
| <i>Assimilationist</i> | Highlights the commonalities between African-Americans and mainstream American society |
| <i>Oppressed Minority</i> | Recognizes the common struggles shared by African Americans and other oppressed groups |
| <i>Humanist</i> | Presents the similarities of all humans regardless of race or nationality |

Four assumptions provide the foundation for the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998a). First the model assumes that racial identity has properties that are both stable and situationally-dynamic. These properties will influence an individual's global outcomes as well as behavior in specific situations. Second, the model assumes that individuals have a number of identities which they rank in hierarchical order. The order given to these identities impacts the behavioral decisions made by individuals. The third assumption underlying this model is that the individual's perception of their racial identity is the most valid indicator of their identity. Thus, the model measures the individual's self-perception rather than defining the individual's identity using objective criteria. This approach avoids making a value judgment as to what constitutes a healthy versus unhealthy racial identity. Finally, this model assumes that the racial identity is complex and multidimensional in nature. No single dimension of the MMRI can fully reflect Black racial identity, so multiple dimensions of racial identity must be considered with each dimension representing a different way in which racial identity is manifested.

Based on these assumptions, the MMRI presents four dimensions to determine the attitudes and beliefs that might influence one's behaviors: identity salience; the centrality of the identity; the regard for which a person holds African Americans; and the ideology associated with (Sellers et al., 1997). Identity salience refers to extent to which one's racial identity is a significant part of their self-concept at a particular moment. This dimension is context specific as it is associated with a specific event, the individual's inclination to define him or herself in terms of race, and the proximal behaviors that occur from these two factors. As such, salience is considered both an unstable dimension

and the means by which the other three dimensions influence how an individual experiences a particular situation.

The centrality dimension determines whether race is a core part of an individual's self-concept (Sellers et al., 1997). Centrality recognizes the multiple identities that one may possess such as gender or occupation, the hierarchical order given to these identities, and their proximity to one's core definition of self. This dimension is associated with salience as the more often racial identity is salient, the more likely it is to become a core part of one's self-definition. Additionally the more central one's race becomes to one's self-concept, the more likely it is to become significant in racially ambiguous situations.

Regard, the third dimension, represents a person's evaluative and affective judgment of his or her race (Sellers et al., 1997). Positive and negative feelings towards African Americans and one's membership in that group are considered. The regard dimension consists of two components private regard or the extent to which one maintains positive or negative feelings towards African Americans and their membership to that group, and public regard which describes the extent to which one feels others harbor positive or negative feelings towards African Americans. This public regard component was included in the model based on the connection between one's perceptions of other groups influenced one's own perceptions of their group.

Ideology is the last dimension of racial identity and is comprised of the beliefs, opinions, and attitudes one possesses towards the way he or she feels members of the race should act (Sellers et al., 1997). More specifically, ideology focuses on how

individuals believe African Americans should interact with other members of society, both African Americans and members of other ethnic groups. Four specific ideologies have been proposed by MMRI to encompass this dimension. A nationalist ideology emphasizes the uniqueness of the “Black experience”, while the oppressed minority philosophy focuses on the common struggles shared by African Americans and other oppressed/minority groups. The assimilationist philosophy highlights the commonalities between African-Americans and the rest of American society. Finally, a humanist ideology presents the similarities of all humans regardless of race or nationality. These four ideologies are believed to be manifested across four areas of functioning: political-economic issues, cultural-social activities, intergroup relations, and interaction with the dominant group. It is hypothesized that an individual can and often will possess one ideology while maintaining other philosophies that will vary depending on the area of functioning being considered.

This model provides for differential aspects of an individual’s racial identity, allowing researchers to more accurately examine the varied facets of racial identity along with the interactions among the racial identity dimensions. This approach provides an opportunity to focus on more than “black behaviors” or make value judgments to determine which racial identities are either positive or negative. Instead, this model enables the research to reveal which particular identity is optimal for the behavior under consideration (Sellers, Morgan, & Brown, 2001).

Saliency of Race

According to Phinney (1990) and Sellers (1993), most Black racial identity studies have failed to identify the process by which racial identity influences an individual's behavior in specific situations. Instead, attention has generally been given to stable aspects of racial identity and their impact on global outcomes such as self-efficacy and resilience. Thus, very little is known about how Blacks, including youth, will behave within specific contexts as a result of their racial identity. Sellers et al. (1997) proposed that the key to understanding the influence of Black racial identity on situation specific behaviors is to give consideration to salience.

Erikson (1968) proposes that the self is comprised of multiple identities. Recognizing these multiple identities, Stryker and Serpe (1982) suggest that identity salience represents the ways that identities are organized into a salience hierarchy. One perspective is that this organization of identities is defined by the likelihood of each of these identities being considered in a given situation. The alternative perspective indicates that identity salience is defined by the probability each identity has of being invoked across a variety of situations. Following the second proposition, the authors suggested that an identity's location in a salience hierarchy will affect the likelihood of behaviors resulting from that identity. The interaction of that identity with both the situation at hand and self-characteristics (e.g. self-esteem or satisfaction) will determine whether or not that identity-related behavior will occur. Finally, based on the identity theory, Stryker and Serpe (1982) propose that salience is trans-situational or remains somewhat constant from one situation to the next. They subsequently noted that salience

is both independent and distinct of centrality (Stryker & Serpe, 1994). While centrality remains a constant, salience becomes critical to one's identity as a result of the role that individual is playing at a given time. Another key factor of salience is that it entails a commitment to an identity versus simply recognizing that identity as being important.

Adopting Stryker and Serpe's concept of identity salience, the MMRI incorporates racial saliency as an unstable dimension of racial identity (Sellers et al., 1997). Sellers et al's conceptualization however, differs from the initially proposed concept in that they consider salience to be situationally specific as opposed to trans-situational. Thus, racial salience can vary across individuals and situations (Sellers et al., 1998c).

In relation to the racial identity model proposed by Sellers and his colleagues, racial salience is believed to serve as a mediator between the three stable dimensions (centrality, ideology, and regard) and the way individuals behave in specific situations (Sellers et al., 1998a). As a result individuals may behave differently when their group identity is made salient even when the group identity is not associated with the event at hand. This impact is suggested to be a result of racial salience influencing the individual's perception of the situation. As a result, individual differences in racial salience should be manifest in racially ambiguous situations, such as leisure behaviors. The extent to which one's racial identity becomes salient in an ambiguous situation is determined by the individual's self-concept.

Scott (2005) developed a survey instrument to measure the salience of racial and ethnic identity development in sport. The survey items were intended to coincide with

the four stages presented in Cross' (1991) nigrescence model, which describes the process by which an individual becomes "Black". These four stages served as precursors to the four ideologies discussed in the multidimensional inventory of black identity (Sellers et al., 1997). Both face and validity criterion was established for this instrument.

In exploring the role of race and ethnic identity development in sport for Blacks/African Americans, it was found that racial identity was more salient for older athletes (Scott, 2005). However, athletic identity was more salient for younger athletes. These findings suggest that one cannot take for granted that race or ethnicity will be the primary determinant of attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors for people of color. It can also be inferred from Scott's study that there is a need to consider generational effects on racial identity development as there were significant differences between older and younger athletes in identity salience.

The salience of racial identity has not yet been considered within leisure studies. As proposed by Stryker and Serpe (1994) and later supported by Scott (2005) race should not be assumed to have a significant impact on the leisure choices of people of color. Instead, attention needs to be given to understanding the importance one gives to their racial identity versus other identities (e.g. gender-based, familial roles, etc.) within the context of leisure. Additionally, efforts need to be made to understand how salience of racial identity varies by group (i.e. youth versus adults). Such information would enhance our understanding of the extent to which race serves as a barrier to participation in specific leisure activities. Additionally, it will provide an opportunity to examine other barriers that might be equally responsible for limited or increased participation in

leisure activities. Thus the purpose of this study is to explore the role of salience of race in leisure choices. This will be accomplished by testing the reliability of a new measurement instrument, the Salience of Race in Leisure (SORIL) Questionnaire. Additionally, this study seeks to understand the level importance Black youth give to their racial identity and how this impacts their participation in free-time activities.

Methods

Data Collection

This questionnaire served as a portion of a larger study focused on understanding the free-time behaviors of Black youth and how community resources influenced these behaviors. Through a partnership between Texas A&M University and Pennsylvania State University, this project was carried out in South Florida. The data served as a secondary data source for this particular study.

Data was collected at a middle school located in a city located in South Florida, using web-based surveys. At the time of data collection 1,262 students were enrolled. Ninety-three percent (1,171) of these students had been identified as African American and approximately 70% of the students were eligible for the Federal free or reduced lunch program. Teachers within the social studies department assisted in the recruitment of students, as all students were required to take a social studies course. Social studies classes of all grades were randomly selected to participate in this study. Students enrolled in the selected classes were provided with parental consent forms that were to be signed and returned to the students' social studies instructor.

Students who had received parental consent and provided assent surveys completed on site (e.g. school computer labs) at different times during the day depending on the availability of students and the school's schedule. Those students who did not participate in the study remained in their social studies class and worked on an extra credit assignment given by their teacher. Participants provided demographic information, and responded to items from the MIBI-t, and racial socialization surveys. Approximately 45-60 minutes were taken for participants to complete the study questionnaire. Students who agreed to participate in the study were entered into a drawing for one of fifteen iPod shuffles and one of 150 Target gift cards valued at \$10 for participation. Additionally, each teacher agreed to award each student with an extra credit grade for participating.

A total of 304 adolescents, ages 10 to 17 (age $M=12.9$, $SD=1.03$) participated in the study. Of the participants 62% were female; 89% identified themselves as being Black or African American. This classification included youth identifying themselves as members of other nationalities including Jamaican, Bahamian, and Haitian. Additionally 63% reported eligibility for the Federal free or reduced lunch program.

Measures

Demographic Information. The questionnaire consisted of six items and was used to collect demographic information, such as racial identity and SES. Two components of racial identity were collected: self-identified racial background and language primarily spoken at home. SES was determined by the student's Federal lunch program status (e.g. is the student eligible for free or reduced lunch). Data were also collected about family structure, gender, and age.

Favorite Free-time Activity. For the purposes of this study leisure was defined as activities done during non-school time. As a result, respondents were asked an open-ended question regarding their favorite activity to engage in during their out-of-school time. This question was used as an introduction for the Salience of Race in Leisure Questionnaire.

Salience of Race in Leisure (SORIL). Participants' attitudes concerning race and leisure were assessed using an adaptation of Scott's (2005) Saliency of Race in Sport Questionnaire (SORIS-Q). The SORIS-Q was designed to combine issues related to race and ethnicity with the practice of sport into a single questionnaire. The SORIS-Q developed based on available literature and research studies covering a range of topics including racism in sport, racial identity development, and athletic identity development. After initial questions were developed, professionals in the field of sport psychology were consulted. As a result feedback from professionals, some of the statements were revised as well as new statements being added.

The SORIS-Q was modified to develop the Salience of Race in Leisure (SORIL). This survey intends to examine issues of race and ethnicity specifically within the context of leisure. As the SORIS-Q was established based on the Cross Racial Identity Scale (1991), the subscales were re-evaluated and compared to the dimensions of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al. 1997). Additionally, the items from the original survey were reworded to reflect this study's interest in free-time activities:

Original Statement: Race is not an issue in sport.

Reworded Statement: Race is not an issue when I participate in my favorite activity.

Four subscales were developed with 19 items. Two professionals in the field of leisure and recreation reviewed the items. No items were changed.

Students were asked to reflect on their favorite free-time activity and determine the extent to which they agreed with each of the SORIL statements. The items on this 19-item adapted survey were designed to reflect the four ideologies presented in the MIBI scale. Thus the questionnaire has four subscales. These items reflect race-related attitudes towards free-time behaviors such as “I prefer to participate in my favorite activity with other Black people” (Nationalist); “I have personally experienced racism while participating in my favorite activity” (Minority); “I have learned things about my race that have helped me to deal with people that aren’t Black” (Assimilationist); and “Race is not an issue when I participate in my favorite activity” (Humanist). Responses were on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree. Chronbach’s alphas for each of the individual subscales were not available however, it was reported that the alphas ranged from .526 and .705 (Scott, 2005).

Results

Favorite Free-Time Activities

The favorite free-time activity responses were examined and coded. Based on the responses four major categories were organized (Table 3.2). The first category was sports (n=62, 46%) and included both team and individual sports such as basketball,

football, cheerleading, and bike riding. The performing arts category (n=27, 20%) included activities such as acting, dancing, and singing. Going to the mall, hanging out with friends, and talking on the phone were grouped together to form the socializing category (n=26, 19%). The final category was labeled as technology (n=19, 14%) and included activities such as text messaging, playing computer/video games, going online. The open-ended responses served as a reference point for the respondents to complete the SORIL questionnaire.

TABLE 3.2
Free-Time Categories Descriptives

| | N | Male | Female |
|-----------------|-----|------|--------|
| Sports | 62 | 33 | 29 |
| Performing Arts | 27 | 1 | 26 |
| Socializing | 26 | 3 | 23 |
| Technology | 19 | 10 | 9 |
| Total | 134 | 47 | 87 |

Salience of Race in Leisure

Frequency distributions were computed for each of the SORIL items questionnaire (see Table 3.3). These findings revealed that 54.9% (n=135) agree or strongly agree that race is not an issue when they participate in their favorite free-time activity. A few (14.3%, n=35) indicated ever being discouraged or not allowed to participate in their favorite activity because they are Black. Over 53% (n=123) believed it was important to represent their race and help people from other races feel comfortable while participating in their favorite activity and 46.7% (n=114) have participated in their

favorite activity with people who are not Black because they believed it was important to be around people from other races. A slight majority of the respondents (51%, n=109) believed that it was important to celebrate their race and still participate in their favorite activity with people who are not Black.

Exploratory factor analysis was performed to provide support for the proposed factor structure of the four dimensions of the SORIL (i.e. nationalist, humanist, assimilationist, and oppressed minority) for the entire sample. As the SORIL was been tested for the first time, the exploratory factor analysis was chosen to test the theoretical structure proposed by this scale. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test using a varimax rotation was used to evaluate the factor solution (Norusis, 1985). Eigenvalues greater than or equal to “1” were extracted and three factors emerged as a result of the factor analysis. Approximately 68% of the variance was explained by the three factors.

Table 3.4 presents the three-factor solution from the factor analysis for the salience of race in leisure subscales. All resultant loadings were above .30 with approximately half of the loadings falling within the moderate range (.40 to .70) and the remainder falling within the high range (.80 or higher). The items loaded as expected for both the humanist and assimilationist dimensions. However, the four items for the nationalist dimension and five items for the oppressed minority dimension loaded onto a single factor. The alphas for the three scales were .84 (humanist), .89 (assimilationist), and .93 (nationalist/ minority). Approximately 67.8 percent of the variance was explained by the three factors.

TABLE 3.3
Frequency Distributions for SORIL

| | | | | Ratings | | | | |
|--|-----|------|------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| SORIL Item | N | M | SD | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
| Humanist | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Race is not an issue when I participate in my favorite activity. | 246 | 3.41 | 1.42 | 41 16.7% | 23 9.3% | 47 19.1% | 63 25.6% | 72 29.3% |
| 2. Participating in my favorite activity is the best way to get ahead in life. | 244 | 3.53 | 1.11 | 13 5.3% | 26 10.7% | 77 31.6% | 74 30.3% | 54 22.1% |
| 3. I believe that racism does not exist when I participate in my favorite activity. | 245 | 3.52 | 1.28 | 24 9.8% | 26 10.6% | 65 26.5% | 58 23.7% | 72 29.4% |
| 4. The best participants are always the ones to achieve the most. | 244 | 3.44 | 1.17 | 21 8.6% | 24 9.8% | 75 30.7% | 75 30.7% | 49 20.1% |
| 5. Race is not an important factor in determining how well I do when participating in my favorite activity. | 243 | 3.56 | 1.25 | 23 9.5% | 20 8.2% | 66 27.2% | 65 26.7% | 69 28.4% |
| Oppressed Minority | | | | | | | | |
| 6. I have been discouraged or not allowed to participate because I'm Black, while participating in my favorite activity. | 244 | 2.09 | 1.21 | 110 45.1% | 49 20.1% | 50 20.5% | 23 9.4% | 12 4.9% |
| 7. I have personally experienced racism while participating in my favorite activity. | 241 | 2.35 | 1.23 | 85 35.3% | 44 18.3% | 67 27.8% | 33 13.7% | 12 5.0% |
| 8. I have been told to stay away from White people in order to be successful in my favorite activity. | 243 | 2.08 | 1.21 | 114 46.9% | 40 16.5% | 56 23.0% | 22 9.1% | 11 4.5% |
| 9. I have been called bad names because I'm Black, while participating in my favorite activity. | 243 | 2.14 | 1.25 | 113 46.5% | 35 14.4% | 52 21.4% | 34 14.0% | 9 3.7% |
| 10. I do not get the credit I deserve for doing well in my favorite activity because I'm Black. | 240 | 2.18 | 1.19 | 99 41.2% | 44 18.3% | 63 26.2% | 24 10.0% | 10 4.2% |

TABLE 3.3 Continued

| SORIL Item | N | M | SD | Ratings | | | | |
|---|-----|------|------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| | | | | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
| Nationalist | | | | | | | | |
| 11. I prefer to participate in my favorite activity with other Black people. | 244 | 2.73 | 1.19 | 48 19.7% | 51 20.9% | 85 34.8% | 40 16.4% | 20 8.2% |
| 12. I have chosen not to participate in my favorite activity because of racism. | 240 | 2.22 | 1.25 | 100 41.7% | 41 17.1% | 57 23.8% | 30 12.5% | 12 5.0% |
| 13. I think about quitting in my favorite activity so that I do not have to be around people who aren't Black. | 243 | 2.09 | 1.23 | 116 38.2% | 35 14.4% | 58 23.9% | 23 9.5% | 11 4.5% |
| 14. I have less interest in my favorite activity because of my involvement in activities that teach me about my race. | 244 | 2.23 | 1.21 | 95 38.9% | 47 19.3% | 63 25.8% | 28 11.5% | 11 4.5% |
| Assimilationist | | | | | | | | |
| 15. I believe that it is important to celebrate my race and still participate in my favorite activity with people who aren't Black. (Assimilationist) | 243 | 3.46 | 1.29 | 28 11.5% | 22 9.1% | 69 28.4% | 59 24.3% | 65 26.7% |
| 16. I have learned things about my race that have helped me to deal with people that aren't Black. | 242 | 3.24 | 1.20 | 26 10.7% | 36 14.9% | 71 29.3% | 72 29.8% | 37 15.3% |
| 17. I believe it is important to understand that people from different races can participate in my favorite activity. | 242 | 3.48 | 1.31 | 28 11.6% | 24 9.9% | 60 24.8% | 63 26.0% | 67 27.7% |
| 18. It is important to represent my race and help people from other races feel comfortable while participating in my favorite activity. | 242 | 3.46 | 1.26 | 22 9.1% | 31 12.8% | 66 27.3% | 59 27.3% | 64 26.4% |
| 19. I have participated in my favorite activity with people who aren't Black because it is important to be around people from other races. | 244 | 3.36 | 1.28 | 29 11.9% | 26 10.7% | 75 30.7% | 57 23.4% | 5 23.4% |

TABLE 3.4
Factor Loadings from the Salience of Race Subscales

| Item | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 |
|--|----------|----------|----------|
| Humanist | | | |
| The best participants are always the ones to achieve the most. | .79 | | |
| I believe that racism does not exist when I participate in my favorite activity. | .74 | | |
| Participating in my favorite activity is the best way to get ahead in life. | .73 | | |
| Race is not an important factor in determining how well I do when participating in my favorite activity. | .54 | | |
| Race is not an issue when I participate in my favorite activity. | .44 | | |
| Nationalist/Oppressed Minority | | | |
| I think about quitting in my favorite activity so that I do not have to be around people who aren't Black. <i>Nationalist</i> | | .87 | |
| I do not get the credit I deserve for doing well in my favorite activity because I'm Black. <i>Oppressed Minority</i> | | .86 | |
| I have chosen not to participate in my favorite activity because of racism. <i>Nationalist</i> | | .85 | |
| I have been called bad names because I'm Black, while participating in my favorite activity. <i>Oppressed Minority</i> | | .85 | |
| I have been told to stay away from White people in order to be successful in my favorite activity. <i>Oppressed Minority</i> | | .85 | |
| I have less interest in my favorite activity because of my involvement in activities that teach me about my race. <i>Nationalist</i> | | .81 | |
| I have been discouraged or not allowed to participate because I'm Black. <i>Oppressed Minority</i> | | .71 | |
| I have personally experienced racism while participating in my favorite activity. <i>Oppressed Minority</i> | | .69 | |
| I prefer to participate in my favorite activity with other Black people. <i>Nationalist</i> | | .53 | |

TABLE 3.4 Continued

| Item | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 |
|--|----------|----------|----------|
| Assimilationist | | | |
| I have participated in my favorite activity with people who aren't Black because it is important to be around people from other races. | | | .89 |
| I have learned things about my race that have helped me to deal with people that aren't Black. | | | .87 |
| I believe it is important to understand that people from different races can participate in my favorite activity. | | | .83 |
| It is important to represent my race and help people from other races feel comfortable while participating in my favorite activity. | | | .83 |
| I believe that it is important to celebrate my race and still participate in my favorite activity with people who aren't Black. | | | .81 |

Frequency distributions were computed for the three subscales of the SORIL questionnaire (Table 3.5). The highest mean obtained was for the humanist subscale, followed by the assimilationist subscale. Thus, within the context of leisure, respondents most identified with the humanist and assimilationist ideologies. The mean for the nationalist/minority subscale indicates that on average the respondents did not adopt this ideology in leisure settings.

TABLE 3.5
Mean Scores for the Subscales on the SORIL Questionnaire

| SORIL Subscale | N | M | SD |
|----------------------|-----|------|------|
| Humanist | 238 | 3.49 | 0.99 |
| Assimilationist | 234 | 3.43 | 1.05 |
| Nationalist/Minority | 222 | 2.24 | 0.97 |

Favorite Free-Time Activities and Salience of Race in Leisure

Finally, the mean differences for each of the four free-time activity categories were tested for each of the three racial salience subscales produced by the factor analysis. This analysis was intended to determine if there was any significant difference in one's racial salience in leisure settings based on the respondent's favorite free-time activities. The mean scores for each of the categories based on the SORIL subscale are presented in Table 3.6.

TABLE 3.6
Mean Scores for Free-time Categories Based on SORIL Subscale

| | Humanist | | | Nationalist/ Oppressed Minority | | | Assimilationist | | |
|-----------------------------|----------|------|------|------------------------------------|------|------|-----------------|------|------|
| Favorite Free-time Activity | N | M | SD | N | M | SD | N | M | SD |
| Sports | 59 | 3.50 | 0.92 | 54 | 2.31 | 0.91 | 58 | 3.39 | 1.01 |
| Arts | 26 | 3.87 | 0.73 | 24 | 1.89 | 0.99 | 25 | 3.98 | 0.95 |
| Socializing | 23 | 3.93 | 0.68 | 23 | 1.92 | 0.74 | 24 | 3.52 | 1.01 |
| Technology | 19 | 3.69 | 0.86 | 17 | 2.04 | 0.94 | 19 | 3.93 | 0.80 |

The univariate analysis of variance revealed that none of these mean differences were significant. While these mean differences were insignificant, the mean scores are high for both the humanist and assimilationist subscales for each of the four free-time activity categories. At the same time, the mean scores were low for the nationalist/minority subscale. This general trend provides further evidence that the youth in this study did not deem their race to be salient in the selection of their favorite free-time activity.

Discussion and Limitations

Study results indicate some support for the proposed instrument intended to measure the salience one gives to their race in choosing leisure activities. The items for both the humanist and assimilationist subscales loaded as expected and were further supported by high Chronbach's alphas. The items for the nationalist and oppressed minority dimensions however, loaded into a single factor contrary to study expectations. The newly formed dimension was not hypothesized and initially appeared to present both theoretical and operational complications. However, upon further reflection a number of explanations for these findings should be considered.

First, the items used to measure might not accurately reflect the dimensions as they are theoretically described. For example, the oppressed minority ideology emphasizes the commonalities of all ethnic minorities while the nationalist ideology emphasizes the uniqueness of African Americans recognizing a unique struggle with the dominant majority (Sellers et al., 1997). Three of the five items used to measure this ideal refer specifically to the respondents' status as a Black person. One such item was *"I have been discouraged or not allowed to participate because I'm Black"*. Wording this item to say *"I have been discouraged or not allowed to participate because I'm a minority"* for example, may have more accurately allowed the respondent to determine the extent which they identify with members of other ethnic minority groups.

Another possibility is that the converging of the proposed nationalist and oppressed minority scales is a reflection of what "is". While the nationalist and oppressed minority dimensions have been proposed individually, it is possible that they are manifested similarly. As a result, the participants responded to the items that corresponded with the nationalist and oppressed minority dimensions in the same way as they viewed no significant distinction between the two. Currently available studies have failed to obtain any significant findings associated with the oppressed minority dimension (e.g. Byars-Winston, 2006; Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1998). Given the factor loadings in this study and the limited findings of previous studies, it might be necessary to reconsider the dimensions initially proposed by Sellers et al (1997). Such reconsideration might not only include determining the validity of the oppressed

minority scale, but also the recognition of other racial ideologies that have not been previously considered.

Consideration should equally be given to the age of the sample population. As the majority of the respondents (83%) were between the ages of 12 and 14, it is possible that the items were confounded as a result of age effects. Youth at this particular age have not yet established their global or domain identities. Marcia (1966) proposes that during identity development individual's experience a state of moratorium during which they are exploring multiple identity options and are still in the process of selecting the identity that most reflects who they want to be. As such they might not yet be ready or able to commit to one identity over another, causing a merging of multiple identities until the exploration process is complete. Additionally, age might impact the manner in which the items are factored as a result of this particular group being unable to distinguish between their status as an African American and ethnic minority. Lacking such an understanding might cause these youth to view the two ideas as being the same thus resulting in them responding to the two factors' corresponding items similarly.

In examining the relationship between identity salience and free-time activities, no significant relationships were found. This finding is not surprising as the means for the subscales indicated that the respondents were most likely to reflect the humanist and assimilationist ideologies in leisure settings, both of which de-emphasize the role of race. Furthermore, the responses to individual items suggests that the majority of youth do not consider race to be a major factor when participating in their favorite free-time activity. Also, very few respondents reported incidents of racism or prejudice during

their free-time experiences. In fact most of the respondents believed that it was important for them to participate in free-time activities with members of other races. These findings were consistent with previous research concerning the salience of race in leisure activities. While investigating the salience of race in sport, Scott (2005) found that younger athletes considered their identity as an athlete to be more salient to participation in sports activities than their racial identity.

It is also possible that the youth did not consider race to be salient in their favorite free-time activities as they chose to participate in activities in which they felt most comfortable. As a result, they are less likely to view race as a barrier to their participation in those activities. Examining a battery of free-time activities would have provided an opportunity to examine the extent to which the respondents consider race in various leisure settings. Doing so would have provided a better indicator of the extent to which race might be salient to Black youth in multiple free-time activities as opposed to the activity of their choice. This option was not available for this particular study. The researchers agreed to minimize the amount of time that would be required in order for students to complete the online surveys. This coupled with the broader focus of the project place restrictions on the means by which salience of race could be examined.

Theoretical Implications

This study contributes research on race and leisure by providing a richer understanding of the relationship between race and leisure through examining the role of racial identity and the salience Black youth give to it when considering free-time activities. While the participants in this study did not appear to consider their race to be

of significance in selecting their free-time activities, the findings suggests a theoretical model of understanding the influence of race in leisure.

This theoretical framework is based on three assumptions. First, all individuals possess multiple identities (e.g. race, gender, etc.). The second assumption is that these identities are ordered by the level of importance by the individual and can change depending on the context or situation the individual is facing. Finally, the identity an individual views as most salient at a particular point will influence their behavior at that time.

Resting on these assumptions, this study provided a means for examining the salience Blacks give to their racial identity and how this impacts their free-time behavior. Previously, race was primarily considered to serve as a barrier to participation in leisure activities. With the exception of the Marginality and Regionality theoretical frameworks (i.e. Marginality), race has been deemed to have the same or similar impact on the leisure behaviors of *all* Blacks. This study suggests that not only is it important to not assume that race serves as a barrier to leisure behaviors, but also that it should not be assumed that race is always considered an important factor for Blacks when selecting leisure activities. The level of importance that one gives to their race when in leisure settings can serve as a more accurate predictor of the impact race might have the leisure behaviors of Blacks. It is for those who consider race to be salient in such contexts that future race and leisure studies can focus on. For those who do not acknowledge race during these times, other factors need to be considered.

Future Directions

As researchers continue to focus their attention on understanding the relationships between race and leisure, further attention should be given to understanding the salience that individuals give to race in leisure-related situations. The use of the SORIL questionnaire may enhance our understanding; however, attempts must be made to further validate this scale. The first step in this process is examining the validity of the items used to measure both the nationalist and oppressed minority dimensions. In order to make sure that they are reflected as originally intended (Sellers et al., 1997). Upon validating this instrument, there are a few primary areas of focus that researchers may consider.

First, attention should be given to understanding how salience of race impacts selection of or participation in specific leisure activity types. This particular study allowed the individual to self-identify their favorite activity and respond to salience of race items based on that activity. While this approach was useful for the purposes of this study, it limits our overall understanding of the impact race has on leisure practices. For example, one is less likely to identify race as a barrier to their participation in their favorite free-time activity. This scale might be most beneficial in expanding our understanding of why people of color choose to participate or refrain from participating in specific activities (i.e. camping, hiking, and skiing). Such an understanding has profound theoretical and practical implications as we look to a future of providing quality leisure services to as many people as possible regardless of ethnicity, age, or gender; for example.

Attempts should also be made to examine cross-generational views of race and leisure. In examining the salience of race in sport Scott (2005) found that older adults found their racial identity to be most salient to their participation in sport activities whereas younger adults found their athletic identity to be most salient. Such findings suggest that generational effects might affect the perceptions that both people of color and the White majority might have of race.

Finally, consideration should be given to expanding the use of this instrument to determine the extent to which members of other ethnic groups consider race in their selection of leisure activities. Data from the current study support the argument that it cannot be assumed that African American people consider their race in selection of leisure activities. The same may true for people of other ethnic backgrounds (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, and Way, 2008). Recognizing their multiple identities and understanding the hierarchical order given to these identities, enhances our understanding of the leisure patterns of varied racial and ethnic groups.

RACE AND RECREATION: THE PERSPECTIVES OF BLACK YOUTH

Introduction

American society is becoming increasingly more ethnically diverse. The collective group ethnic minorities are projected to equal the number of non-Hispanic Whites by 2050 (US Census Bureau, 2004). Unfortunately, the field of recreation and leisure is not currently prepared to serve ethnically diverse populations as little as been done to understand the leisure preferences and trends of ethnic groups. For example, relatively few studies have focused on the leisure behaviors of African Americans (Floyd, Bocarro, & Thompson, 2008). The primary aim for many of these studies has been on activity participation and participation barriers of ethnic minority groups with some attention devoted to theory development (e.g. Phillip, 1999). The discrepancy between the demographic shift and our knowledge of these subpopulations and their leisure trends has been criticized (e.g. Floyd, 1998; Stodolska, 2000).

Floyd et al. (2008) noted that this inadequacy in literature is further compounded when specifically examining studies involving African American youth. While adolescence is marked as a difficult period within the lives of youth (Erikson, 1968), this process becomes more complex when studying Black youth as their race adds an additional developmental domain that must be negotiated during this period. As such race creates an additional set of challenges for these youth placing them at greater risk of not experiencing optimal development.

Although race is a socially constructed term, it has served a critical role in the shaping of this country's history and many of today's social interactions. For Blacks especially, the social construction of race has contributed to social, political, economic, and educational injustices. These injustices have manifested into limited resources that hinder the positive development of African American youth (Olive, 2003).

Given the shift in demographics, our limited understanding of race, and the need for greater incorporation of theoretical explanations; there is a need for fresh approaches to guide race and leisure studies. Such studies will provide a better understanding of how race influences leisure behaviors through the provision of theory. This increased knowledge can then be utilized to provide practical assistance to professionals working with Black youth populations.

Youth Development and Recreation

Witt and Caldwell (2005) have suggested that leisure settings are great contexts for promoting the positive development of adolescents. Multiple studies have brought attention to the outcomes associated with how youth spend their free-time including increased academic success and lowered risk-taking behaviors (Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003), increased feelings of school belonging (Fredricks & Eccles, 2005), and development of initiative (Larson, 2000); to name a few. Larson (2000) further explains that when compared to school and unstructured free-time activities, structured free-time activities are ideal. This is due to the belief that structured free-time activities provide youth with a consistent balance between motivation and challenge for involvement. Through their examination of structured activities and youth development; Barber,

Stone, Hunt, and Eccles (2005) found that specific structured activity types can lead to the successful development within specific domains for adolescents.

Together these studies propose that specific free-time structured activities can contribute to the development specific assets within youth. Unfortunately, these studies have primarily focused on samples involving White adolescents leaving little understanding of the types of activities that Black youth engage in and how their development is impact.

African Americans and Leisure

Thus far our understanding of the relationship between race and leisure has been guided by several different theories. Marginality has been used to emphasize how leisure barriers related to minority status impact African American's choices and experiences within leisure settings (Washburn, 1978). More specifically, African American's participation rates in specific activities are not comparable to that of the White majority as a result of limited access to resources. The ethnicity or subcultural theory argues that the participation in leisure activities vary based on the value systems, norms, and socialization patterns of each ethnic or racial group (Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, & Noe, 1994). As a result cultural processes are more important than factors such as socioeconomic status in selection of leisure activities. The third theoretical approach perceived discrimination which highlights the historical role of prejudice and discrimination in the United States (Phillipp, 1998). Accordingly, discrimination has led Blacks to associate certain activities as "white activities" and others as "black activities".

This perception of leisure activities as race-based encourages Blacks to participate in activities that will be approved by their Black peers.

Where Black youth are more specifically involved, Phillipp (1999) found that African American parents felt “welcome” in a limited number of recreation activities when compared to White parents. These perceptions of not fitting into certain leisure activities not only served as barriers to their participation, but also impacted the leisure activities these parents believed were acceptable for their children to participate in. These findings suggests that Black youth can and do learn about acceptable leisure activities through the activities they are exposed to by their parents as well as the messages they receive about those activities. In another study, Phillipp (1998) found that the peers of African American youth also have a strong influence on an individual’s leisure activities choices. While examining the role of peers in this process, he found that African American youth learn from their peers which leisure activities are unacceptable. Although not overtly stated, respondents suggested that these ideas about unacceptable activities are race-related.

Ogden (2004) further explains this idea through his discussion of the *Welcome Theory*. This theory proposes that certain groups may not feel a sense of belonging in certain leisure activities. This feeling of not being welcomed may not necessarily be attached to one’s race. The roles of mass communication as well as the influence of family and friends, and access to facilities are acknowledged as contributing to one’s sense of belonging. Ogden (2004) suggested that this is why there are noticeably low numbers of African Americans participating, passively and actively, in baseball.

Stemming from a history of discrimination in professional baseball, there are recognizably low numbers of professional African American baseball players and fans today. Current numbers are suggested to contribute to the perception that baseball culture is not inviting and welcoming for Blacks. As a result, Black youth do not identify as well with baseball in comparison to other sport-related activities and are not as willing to participate in the sport (Ogden, 2004).

Adopting messages from family and friends concerning activities that are and are not welcoming to African Americans reflects the concept of *collective identity* (Ogden & Hilt, 2003). The process of collective identity entails one absorbing the cultural traits of a group as part of their self-identity formation. Ogden and Hilt (2003) suggested that doing so lead African American youth to participate in leisure and sport activities that they believe to be reflective of their African American culture. They found that this desire to adopt the identity of one's cultural group led African American youth to more readily identify with and participate in basketball over baseball. It was proposed that their participation in basketball was promoted by the encouragement of authority figures to play basketball, the portrayal of basketball as a means of self-empowerment, the visibility of multiple Black role models in basketball, and the perception of basketball as a means of social mobility.

Based on the current literature available, this project sought to extend the current understanding of the impact of race on the free-time activities of Black youth. More specifically, attention is given to understanding the relationship between race and various leisure opportunities by exploring the experiences of 6th to 8th graders within

various free-time activities. With this in mind, a single research question guided this study. Does race influence the free-time activities Black youth choose to, participate in? If so, how? If not, what factors influence Black youths' participation in various free-time activities?

Methods

In order to study the role of race in the free-time use of Black youth, I chose to examine the lives of Black middle school adolescents. This particular group was chosen as adolescents at this age are beginning to come face-to-face with many of the developmental tasks they must negotiate in preparation for adulthood (Erikson, 1968). Typically youth at this age have not yet committed to an identity and are initiating the exploration phase of identity development. Youth at this age are able to provide an understanding of how Black youth are socialized into leisure activities that they will potentially carry with them into adulthood. The exploratory nature of the research and the age of the main study participants contributed to the decision to use an interpretive, qualitative framework to explore the research questions.

Setting

Study participants were drawn from a middle school in an urban city in South Florida. The city was incorporated in 2003 and with 105,457 residents is the third largest city in county. This city has the largest predominantly African American population (79%) in the State of Florida, including a large population of Caribbean residents. Many of the residents of this city are considered working and middle-class.

The middle school had an enrollment of 1,262 students in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. Ninety-three percent (1,171) of these students had been identified as African American. Approximately 70% of the students were eligible for the Federal free or reduced lunch program. The middle school also houses a Visual and Performing Arts Magnet, which requires auditions as a criterion for acceptance. As one of the goals of magnet programs within the school district is to desegregate schools, students were recruited from communities demographically different from the local community to enroll in this program. However, due to recent budget cuts there were an increasing number of students enrolling in the magnet from the local community.

The school district's Office of Program Evaluation was contacted to review and approve the proposed study. The study was approved at the school district and local school level. In addition Texas A&M University's IRB provided approval for this study.

The researcher collaborated with the school to recruit participants (e.g., speaking to groups of students, teachers, and administrators). The school's administrators were contacted prior to visiting the campus. This particular study was a single phase within a larger project examining the racial identity of youth and its impact on their free time choices. Students who had previously agreed to participate in previous phases of this project were contacted by a lead teacher was assigned to work with this particular study. The students were recruited based on their status as a racial/ethnic minority. Students were provided with parental consent forms that were to be signed and returned to the students' social studies instructor.

Participants

The study involved 30 youth (13 males; 17 females) grades 6th to 8th. While the typical middle school age ranges between 11 and 14, there was one participant who was eighteen years of age. As youth were selected based on racial/ethnic status, the sample represented a range of ethnic groups including Black/African American, Asian, and Arabic. The majority (n=26) of the youth were Black including African American, Dominican, Jamaican, Haitian, and Bohemian. The remaining four students identified themselves as Asian (n=3) and Arabic. While these students were involved in the focus groups, the information they provided was not analyzed for this particular study.

Most of the youth were living in two-parent homes including homes with a few stating that they lived with their mother and stepfather (n=3). Two students not only lived with their parents, but also extended family members including grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. The remaining participants (n=7) lived with their mothers. The youth that lived with their mothers or mother and stepfathers, acknowledged seeing their fathers on a regular basis. Some spent weekends with their father and others stated that their fathers had remarried and they saw him frequently.

All except for one of the youth were from the school's community or one of the nearby cities. As the school is located in an urban setting there are multiple cities located within a short distance of one another. Many of the students stated that although they did not live in the school's community, there lived within a five minute drive of the school.

While describing their neighborhoods, the youth felt that their communities were boring with little to do outside of playing basketball for the male respondents. Both male

and female respondents spoke generally about ‘wildin out’ or hanging out as being the only other activity available in their community. There was a brief mention made of a nearby Boys and Girls Club however, it was quickly stated that the youth were not interested the programs offered there. As a result the youth spent much of their free-time ‘wildin out’ (hanging out with friends). Some of the youth believed that their communities were not safe as they had seen or heard of a wide range of criminal activities taking place in their neighborhoods including cars being set on fire and shootings. One teacher described the local community as having very little to offer for the youth and as a result increasing the risk of them getting into trouble.

Each of the youth had aspirations for professional careers including psychiatrist, architect, and airplane engineer. Only one student mentioned wanting to be a professional athlete. Multiple students were enrolled in the school’s magnet program. A few teachers indicated that most of the students were succeeding in their studies and some of them were identified as being leaders in the classroom and on campus as they were involved in various student organizations.

Data Collection

Observations

The researchers spent much time in the classroom as an observer over a period of two weeks. Much of the time in the classroom was spent observing the students and their teacher. This time provided an opportunity for the researchers to talk with the teachers and briefly interact with the students. In addition to providing an understanding of the environment, this helped the researchers build a rapport with the students.

Focus Groups

The study followed a focus group design (Morgan, 1993). Focus groups are ideal when exploring complex behavior and allow participants to feel comfortable in a non-judgmental environment when answering open-ended questions.

The focus groups in the current study included 30 participants and were used to gather data using semi-structured questions to pursue information based on the representation of free-time activities and racial development in youth. This method was used due to its ability to provide depth into the subject. In addition, the power differential between the youth and the researcher could be reduced by the group format, through peer support and less focus on any one individual. The students selected to take part in this study were chosen by purposeful sampling (Merriam, 1998). The lead teacher selected students who had participated a previous, but related study and were not hesitant to speak.

The focus group protocol consisted of guiding questions (Table 4.1) designed to provide participants with the opportunity to reflect on their free-time experiences, the factors that influence their free-time decisions, the meaning of these experiences. A previous study examining the role of race in sport served as a model in the development of the focus group guide for this study (Scott, 2005). The results of that study led the lead researcher to believe that these questions were suitable for the focus groups in this study. Each question was closely examined by the researchers in this project to determine its age appropriateness for the participants. These questions were not piloted

prior to meeting with the focus groups. While the questions were semi-structured, participants were encouraged to elaborate and if necessary deviate from the questions.

TABLE 4.1
Semi-Structured Interview Guide

| |
|---|
| 1. Tell me about the environment you grew up in (family, neighborhood, school). |
| 2. Who influences the activities you participate in during your free-time? |
| 3. Do you think there is any unfairness in certain free-time activities for Blacks? If so, which activities? |
| 4. Do you ever feel alone as a Black person in certain activities? |
| 5. How does being Black affect your participation in free-time activities? |
| 6. Do you believe you have an equal opportunity to participate in all free-time activities? |
| 7. Are there any activities that you believe you Black people can't do? Why do you feel this way? |
| 8. Are there any activities that your friends feel Black people shouldn't participate? What do you think about this? |
| 9. Are there any free-time activities where you are the only Black person or one of a few Black people participating? How do feel in those situations? How do non-Blacks treat you? |
| 10. Is there anything additional that you would like to add about this topic? |

Participants were interviewed in an empty classroom. Interviews lasted 45 to 60 minutes. Two individuals with prior interviewing experience with children and youth and an understanding of youth development, race, and leisure studies conducted the interviews. An informed consent and assent form was sent home and were required to be returned prior to the focus groups. The participants met in a classroom on the school's campus. During the interviews, the participants were made aware of the opportunity to

withdraw from the study completely or to simply not answer certain questions asked during the discussion. The focus groups were audio recorded and later transcribed.

Journal

Following the guidelines established by Lincoln and Guba (1985), the interviewers wrote in a reflexive journal containing three components: (a) an interview schedule, (b) a record of feelings, concerns, reflections and insights about the study, and (c) a chronicle of the study methodology. Thus, the first stage of analysis began immediately after each interview, when the interviewers reflected on the interview, specifically noting perceptions of the interviewers' success, if rapport was established, if the participants spoke freely, and as much nonverbal data as possible. Further, interesting components from each interview, emerging ideas and preliminary categories, and the similarities to and differences from previous interviews were noted. Each researcher kept an audit trail which allowed them to maintain a record of the procedures, results, and interpretations of the steps taken during the collection and analyses of the data.

Ethics and Confidentiality

Participants were assured of confidentiality. Only the interviewers and transcriber had access to the audiotapes and transcripts. In written materials, including the transcripts, participant numbers and gender were used.

Data Analysis

Data analysis continued during the transcribing process. A verbatim transcription was made of each interview. Although the interviewers did not transcribe the interviews,

they did reach each interview to confirm verbatim transcription. The next stage of data analysis occurred when the interviews were completed and transcribed. The interviews and reflexive journal were read several times. Initially, the interviews were read in the order obtained with the goal of getting a “feel” for the data. Then the interviews were grouped according to primary question or topic being addressed.

Open Coding

The analysis progressed through open coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) and notes were made directly on the transcripts and key words, sentences, and quotes were highlighted. In this way the transcripts were systematically arranged into manageable units, synthesized, and searched for commonalities and differences about what was important, what was learned, and what to tell others (Bogdan & Blinken, 1992).

Axial Coding

Upon the completion of this process, the interviewers met to compare notes. Both similarities and differences were discussed to further clarify the individual findings of the interviewers. The next step of data analysis was the formation of themes through axial coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Bogdan and Blinken (1992) noted the usefulness of putting the data together in different ways such as writing lists or creating diagrams. These suggestions were utilized in the data analysis. First, significant components of the transcripts were sorted into brief and extensive lists of commonalities. The lists were sorted and combined into categories with highlighted examples, quotes, and descriptor words. These lists were then used in the writing of each theme.

Trustworthiness

Throughout the duration of this study multiple steps were taken to establish credibility and validity. First, the study relied on investigator triangulation as multiple researchers assisted in the collection of data as well as its analysis. Additionally, methods triangulation was utilized through the use of focus groups with the youth, observations of student-led interviews, and interviews with the school's teachers and administrators. Participation feedback was gathered as the researchers allowed the respondents to verify the conclusions drawn from the focus group data. Feedback was also gathered through follow-up conversations with the school's administrators. Peer review was relied upon after the data was collected and involved researchers who had not participated in the data collections. This allowed for the interpretations and conclusions of the interviewers to be "challenged" and protected against potential biases and predispositions.

Findings

Three thematic areas emerged from the focus groups. First, the youths' discussions revealed that their free-time activity choices were primarily influenced by immediate and extended family members. Secondly, they explained the role that race played in their selection of free-time activities including the identification of "Black" and "non-Black" activities. Finally, the youth expressed their willingness to engage in some "non-Black" activities.

Sources of Influence

Familial Influence

Family members were identified as the primary source of influence in deciding which free-time activities to participate in. Family members were usually the first source of influence identified by the youth and were most frequently referred to. For these youth in particular, family members extended beyond parents and siblings to include aunts, uncles, and cousins. Family members impacted free-time use a number of ways including encouraging participants to participate in activities, actively participating in activities with them, and setting an example for the youth through their participation in activities. Family members encouraged participation in a wide range of activities including sports, performing arts, and visual arts.

Parents. The parents appeared to have both direct and indirect influences on how the youth spent their free-time. Direct influences were involved practices in which parents were immediately involved in the free-time decisions of youth, while indirect influences reflected parents not being immediately present but still impacting the free-time decisions of youth. A general theme that was shared among many of the youth was that parents established guidelines and expectations that guided their behaviors. So where some activities were concerned, the youth understood that the question was not whether or not the activity was acceptable but did they have permission to participate at that time. This sentiment was shared amongst many of students, especially the girls who stated that they were not free to engage in an activity without discussing it with a parent first.

My mom. I can't just go, "Oh, ma, I'm going to go to the movies." She'll be like, "What?"...I got to ask her. (Female)

My mom. Because when I want to go to the movies or somewhere with my friends, the final word is with her. (Female)

Where certain activities were concerned, parents influenced the behaviors of youth without a discussion taking place. This was because parents had already established expectations for their children that did not require follow-up conversations. One young lady articulated this idea, when highlighting the fact that she did not always consult her parents before engaging in free-time activities.

My parents care (what I do), it's just they know that I should know better, I know right and wrong so they don't tell me. (Female)

This comment suggests that the guidelines established by her parents apply to multiple situations within youth's use of free-time.

Beyond the general guidelines set forth by the parents, there were distinct differences in how the mothers and fathers influenced how the youth utilized their free-time. The youth reported that moms were most likely to direct or encourage their involvement in different types of free time activities. They encouraged their youth to get involved in the free time activity of their choice.

My mom influenced me because our house doesn't really have nothing fun to do so she told us to go outside and play with the kids or go find something to do and we would just go from there. (Female)

She like, she want me to not be home everyday all day so I dance after school and on Saturdays and that's it. (Female)

Because she don't want me like going outside and getting in trouble, so she like tells me what to do and stuff. (Male)

According to the youth, the primary goal for their moms encouraging them to get involved in free-time activities was *to be active, stay out of trouble, and avoid being home alone.*

This was a significant difference from the manner in which fathers were described to have influenced their youth. In each of the cases where the father was mentioned, they were highlighted by male respondents. None of the female youth indicated that their fathers specifically influenced how they spent their free-time. Another interesting point to be made is that the fathers encouraged their sons to participate in specific activities and actively engaged in that activity with the son.

Almost everyday after school, I go to the basketball court or to this park with my dad. What he tries is that, he teaches me things about basketball. He used to be basketball player but he had to take care of me and my brothers so... (Male)

The activity that I like to do at the school is play football. What influences me is my dad and watching the NFL players play. My dad influences me because, like he played football when he was younger and he always wanted me to play so, I just joined the team... (Male)

As these statements demonstrate, the fathers were most likely to encourage their sons to participate in activities that they used to engage in. Additionally, these activities suggest that dads also take the time to teach their sons about the free-time activity they are engaged in.

Aunts and Uncles. Aunts and uncles were also mentioned on multiple occasions by the youth. Similar to the statements made about the parents, aunts like mothers were most likely to encourage the youth to participate in free-time activities while the uncles took an active role to encourage that youth participate in a specific free-time activity that was of personal interest to them.

...and my auntie said that I should either do cheerleading or basketball and my mom said the same thing and she said, it's whatever I want, so. (Female)

but my uncle, he inspired me to play guitar that's why I got some acoustic (Male)

Peer Family Members. Peer family members appeared to influence the youths' free-time activity choices by serving as role models. Peer family members are those family members who were around the same age as the youth and included both siblings and cousins. The youth that referred to peer family members, spoke about them being older and participating in an activity.

My brother...He plays basketball and he plays for Carol City sometimes. But on the summer camp that we go to, he'd play and it's like ages 11 to like 17 and we'd be there and he'd play basketball for that team and he plays real good and he's telling me that I need to get out and play because you can't just sit down on the computer and stuff like that. You need to get out. (Male)

I step and my cousin influenced me because she started stepping before me and I liked it, so me and my sisters join the step team for HT Perry Middle (Female)

My sister...She played in the band for Northwestern (High School) but I don't want to be... I want to be in the band but I don't want to be a golden girl. (Female)

The peer family member's participation both directly and indirectly encouraged them to participate in the same or a similar activity.

In the situations in which peer family members were of the same age as the youth, there were shared experiences as the youth and their siblings and/or cousins participated in the activity with the youth.

Yes. Because he's (cousin) fun, he could wild out sometimes and be serious if we go out and stuff. Like Club 56, our little club, like he's my age I hang out. (Male)

In the summer, I went to Boston and then I was with my cousin and then we went to a camp for two weeks. (Male)

Other Sources of Influence

While the family was most frequently identified as influencing how the youth spent their free-time, the youth referred to other means by which they determined which activities to engage in. This included friends, professional athletes, and entertainers. These sources of influence did not appear to have the same level of influence as family members. In some cases, these sources were identified after the respondents were prompted to discuss sources of influence outside of family members. When the participants referred to sources of influence with which they did not have direct contact (i.e. athletes), they acknowledged that factors such as finances and lifestyle contributed to their being influenced. Overall, it was very apparent that the respondents are still in a stage where family has greater influence on their behaviors than friends.

Friends. Friends were mentioned briefly during the focus groups as having any form of influence on how the youth spent their free time. In the few instances where they were mentioned, the youth felt that they and their friends were equally influential in deciding what activities to engage in.

Well, I'd be with my friends—they're like 16 and 15 and stuff—on the weekend. We go to the movies and stuff, on the computer...but I don't...we influence? I guess we influence each other, I don't know. (Female)

Professional Athletes & Entertainers. The youth looked to the media and found various superstars who guided their use of free-time. The motivation for looking to these stars varied as some shared the same interests as the celebrity they identified with.

Oh, in my free time sometimes I like to sing. That is influenced by Miley Cyrus. (Female)

In other cases, the youth admired the status of a celebrity and selected the occupation of that celebrity as their free-time activity. This was especially noticed amongst the male respondents who identified with either a particular athlete or a group of athletes. The primary opinion was that these superstars had reached a position of prominence to be admired. Furthermore in some cases, the boys aspired to pursue the careers of their idols in hopes of obtaining a similar status and all of its associated perks.

Lebron James...Because he's a young dude, NBA, powerful. He can shoot from the three and take it in and when he jump in the paint. (Male)

...and I started to play (football) later on and it first influenced me because how I used to do so good doing the game and how you make money off of it so I try to get better and try to join at NFL when I get older. (Male)

This particular respondent was also driven by his family as he stated later on in the discussion that his goal was to use the money made in the NFL to support his family.

Tom! One youth gave a very interesting response as he identified Tom as the person who influenced how he spent his free time.

Interviewer: Okay. So who do you think influences the activities that you like to do?

Male: Tom.

Interviewer: Who?

Male: Tom. The person who made MySpace.

While he was the only person who specifically mentioned Tom or MySpace, he was not the only one who referred to computers, television, or the Internet as a free-time activity. Upon further probing, it was determined that he spent very little time engaged in other activities outside of being on the computer and watching television.

Together these comments highlight the importance that the family plays in shaping the use of these adolescents free-time usage. However, other factors do contribute to the decision making process including friends, celebrities, and technology. This is important to recognize as it speaks to the influence of mass media and other forms of communication in the decision making process of the youth (Ogden, 2004).

Role of Race

The discussion of race was very interesting as the youth presented multiple and sometimes conflicting views as to the role of race in their selection of free-time activities. These perceptions developed by the youth were based on their personal experiences and led to the belief that race played no role in their free-time settings. However, further discussion suggested that this might not truly be the case. What was found was that race played a very subtle role in the free-time choices of the youth. Youth saw themselves as free to participate in any free-time activity they desired however, they also recognized that they chose not to participate in certain activities. The youth cited a wide range of explanations for not participating in activities, many of which were related to race-related beliefs. This suggests that the youth were not fully aware of the extent to which their race influences their free-time activity decisions. Various sub-themes emerged during this discussion: Personal Experiences, Race is not a Factor: “You Can Do Anything”, Race is a Factor: “Most White People Play Baseball”, Preconceived Ideas of “Black” and “Non-Black” Activities, Uncomfortable, Finances, and Lack of Opportunities for Exposure.

Personal Experiences

When examining how race impacts the free-time activity choices, it was recognized that the youth based their beliefs on the personal interactions they had with non-Black youth and adults, as well as, the messages they received from members of their own culture.

Youth-to-Youth (White) Interactions. Most of the youth lived in predominantly Black communities and therefore had very few interactions with non-Blacks, especially youth. For those who had interacted with non-Blacks, they identified those non-Blacks as being White or Caucasian, as defined by the youth. For the most part they reported experiencing both fair and positive interactions. These positive experiences were the result of the kids feeling as though everyone was treated equally and fairly, while participating in free-time activities. These experiences of fair treatment generated both from the adults who were present and interacted with all of the youth similarly and the youth who allowed anyone who was interested to play without any acts of discrimination or prejudice.

One time when I was in third grade, I participated in this basketball summer program at Pepper Park, a program at Opa-Locka. There was an equal amount of black and white kids. We were treated equal. We had the same disciplines and the same rewards. Everybody is the same. Nobody is treated differently. (Male)

It was only like a few white kids that was there and they had equal opportunity too. My coach wasn't a racist or anything. He was black so he didn't treat them differently. And around my neighborhood, like I said, a black neighborhood, I had equal opportunity. Only few really white kids came around and we weren't treating them differently. We will just let them play so they had equal opportunity too. (Male)

And then some other kids had came and we would just keep on playing, some other white kids that came, they was like can we play, like we didn't mean to end it that way, but like can we play and then we was all playing together. (Female)

It should also be noted that there were either an equal amount of Black and White youth or the Black youth outnumbered the White youth. This is a point that will be returned to later.

There were a few youth who had negative experiences as a result of their interactions with White youth. It was also noted that these negative interactions were isolated within larger positive experiences where the majority of the White youth were inviting to the Black youth. The youth believed that these negative experiences were the result of adult decisions and not necessarily the White youth behaving volitionally.

When I went around my cousin's house and they live in a white neighborhood, when we were playing football, they treated us right. Only maybe like one person didn't like us being around there and his parents make him come in the house when we came. There's only like one person but the rest, I felt like I had equal opportunity at playing. (Male)

This particular comment led to a discussion amongst the youth in which they agreed that typically parents are the source of *racist* messages. They did not view kids as being capable of developing such ideas without the influence of adults. Interestingly, they also noted that Black parents were also capable of teaching their youth the same messages of racism that White parents can teach.

Youth-to-Adult (White) Interactions. Aside from the interactions involving White youth, the youth reported very few direct interactions with White adults. Of those discussions, only one took place within the context of free-time.

... It was this modeling agency. And when I went, it was only like one or two black people and the rest were all white. They were all interviewers. They were

white as well and I felt that, oh, I don't have a chance or they're probably not going to even read my application or even interview me... They did like me... (Female)

This positive experience helped changed the view of this particular youth as she had previously held the perception that she would not be given a fair chance to participate in certain activities because she was Black.

For the other youth who had recalled their interactions with White adults, their experiences were not positive. Also, for each of these youth the interactions were outside the context of leisure and took place in public places such as stores and restaurants. Multiple stories were shared in which youth perceived that they had been followed in a store or watch very carefully because they were expected to steal.

It was one time, me and my sister went to the store, it was like the gas station and this like the owner, he was white and it was like he already pulled out something on his hand. Well, you know how they have the safety button. Like his hand was already there, and watching us. He wouldn't take his eyes off us like as if we were going to steel something, like chips or something, when we had money to buy it. (Female)

Interactions with Members of In-Group. All of the youth learned about race through interactions with other Blacks and this extended beyond parents. There were two central messages that the youth gathered from their interactions with other Blacks. First youth were prepared for biases based on their race. The bias they were prepared for was to be treated unfairly or prejudged because of their race.

I think that my mom told me that when you were born and you're black, you already have one strike against you, like because I was already raised as my mother, you already have one strike against you, so when you are at school, you got to... you can't mess up at all... (Male)

Despite the belief that Blacks should expected to be discriminated against, youth were encouraged to try their hardest. They were taught that they could still achieve whatever goals they set regardless of their race and the opposition they would eventually face.

My dad, he tells me that if I want to do something, just go for it. If I fail, go try, do it again, if you don't want to, then it's really my choice. Because I could be a recording artist and go, and my dad said if you really want to do something that you really love or you really...you would like to do this, put your mind to it and do it. (Male)

In some cases, youth were even encouraged to interact with Whites and learn from them.

Well, my mom said it's a good opportunity to be with other races because like my sister pick on people that talk...like my cousin that talks like a white girl. Mom says good like to talk and enunciate your words and stuff like that so she said that that was a good opportunity to be with white kids. (Female)

That's what my mom said. It's something close to that. That's the same thing my grandma, my mother, and everybody try to tell me like I listen, because sometimes I don't. Because it's like, okay, what if I want to do what them other people is doing but I get offended because I'm the only black person, so it's like some people they feel like that because...I don't know. They just feel like, oh they can't do something unless there's other black people doing it. If it's just white people, they wouldn't want to try it so... (Female)

Race is not a Factor: "You Can Do Anything"

The youth repeatedly stated that race was not important to them when selecting a free-time activity. Instead they believed that they could accomplish anything goal they set.

I feel like black people could play whatever sport. My brother, he's four and he likes baseball and soccer. You don't really see many black people playing soccer so, I guess, if that's what you want to do, you can do it. (Female)

I feel like black people in general can do whatever if they put their minds to it, they can do it. (Female)

Yeah, on like classical music. Because I'm in a band, right? I play in a classical band not play in a jazz band. Most of friends see that mostly white people play in like classical music and stuff and black people play jazz, but I beg to differ because...there's some people don't play classical music because their black, and there's some white that don't play jazz. Well, I play both so... (Male)

They believed that there were other factors that were more important to determining one's acceptance into an activity beyond race. They considered personal qualities and traits to be the true determining factors in how one could become involved in an activity. Additionally, these same attributes were considered vital to one's continued success in an activity. The youth believed that they were most likely to be judged on factors other than the color of their skin.

I do live in a mixed neighborhood. The neighbors, they don't treat us any different. We're pretty good friends so it's like, it's no big difference...I don't know. I guess, because my family...our personalities, we're not mean. We don't have attitude problems so I guess, the neighbors, they're okay with us because of our personalities. (Female)

Another factor that significantly contributed to this idea was the recent election of President Barack Obama in 2008. The youth and their families looked to this historic event, that they believed would never happen as an example as to what they could achieve.

Because look at Barack Obama. Once he made it, it's like we could do anything that we put our mind to. (Female)

My mom, she was talking about Obama. She was like, oh people are talking about his demise, they're talking about, oh you're not going to be this, and no, oh you're not going to be that, and next he's the first black president ever in history and stuff. And she was like, if Obama can be the first black president, then you can do anything. (Male)

No. Because I think black people have just as much as a chance to get into something as white people because look at Barack Obama. Nobody have ever

thought that a black person would be president. So, I think that black people can do all things that they put their mind to. (Male)

Race is a Factor: “Most White People Play Baseball”

While the all of the youth initially stated that race was insignificant and they could participate in whatever activity they chose to, further discussion revealed that there were certain activities that Blacks did not participate in. Multiple explanations were offered for this including some activities being uncommon to Blacks, Blacks feeling uncomfortable in certain settings, finances serving as a barrier, and the lack of opportunities to be exposed to new activities.

Preconceived Ideas of “Black” and “White” Activities

The youth stated that certain activities did not have a high number of Blacks participating because they were common to Blacks. The activity that was discussed the most frequently was baseball. Youth expressed that baseball was not an activity that Black people participate in.

Because it’s baseball. It’s not mostly a black common sport. (Male)

I have to say to what he said too because you don’t know another...you don’t see another black people playing baseball but if you do, that’s like, that’s very strange because most white people play baseball. They don’t be trying to play football and basketball, that’s common for black people. (Female)

Stories were also provided in which either youth themselves or one of their friends were ridiculed for participating in the baseball. It was at this point that it became very apparent that the youth or people they knew distinctly viewed certain activities as being “Black” or “White” activities.

...Now I'm on a baseball league for long. I'm like one of the kids there. Black kids pick on me. I see other kids yelling at me, they were picking on me... (Male)

...they had let this other black kid play and then the other black guy was picking on him because he was playing a white man's sport and that black people don't play it and stuff and then it's not a black...that's not a normal sport for black people. (Male)

Despite these experiences of ridicule and distinct messages of “Black” and “White” activities, the youth held firm that they did not believe race impacted their free-time decisions. However, they did serve to assist youth in establishing which activities they thought Blacks should shy away from if for no other reason but to avoid being made fun of.

The feeling was not that Black people should not or could not participate in certain activities. Instead the youth felt that both Blacks and Whites had “typical” activities that they participate in. Therefore, if a Black person participated in an activity that was typically dominated by White people they did not view that person negatively but out of the ordinary. One reason for this belief was that the youth felt, Blacks would not be treated fairly when participating.

One day over the summer, my brother say he wanted to...that was the day when my mom was going to sign me up for cheerleading and my brother wanted to play soccer and there was like this soccer coach thing by our house, by the Adventura Mall, like before you take that thing to go up. It was like a park and we took him there. And the coach was white and when we went there, like all the kids was white. We didn't see any black kids and so I thought that...and like I didn't know why but I was thinking because he was black and stuff that he wouldn't get equal chances like the rest of them. (Female)

Some of these ideas that youth had developed about Black and non-Black activities were further supported by messages from family members and friends.

Yes. I heard that from my grandma because she's like one of those old-fashioned black people and my brother, he mixed with Spanish, and he like to play football. So, she tried to make a joke one day and be like, "Oh, you should be like one of those Spanish kids and go play baseball..."(Male)

I heard a lot stuff, like from my friends and stuff. They were like...like with soccer, because you don't see a lot of black people playing soccer. So I heard that, like one of my friends, he wanted to play soccer and they were black, right? One of my friends wanted to do it. They were like, "Black people don't play no soccer, man. Play football or basketball or something but..."(Male)

Uncomfortable

Another explanation for Blacks not participating in certain activities was that they are not always comfortable participating. The primary explanation was that Blacks do not feel as comfortable in settings where they are in the minority.

Like me and my cousin, my mom she made me go to...she made me go to this summer camp and that we go to or something over the summer, me and my cousin. It is like the only black people there was us. I just felt...alone. (Female)

It was noted that if they were a member of the majority group within the same activity they would feel more at ease while engaged in that activity. This was sentiment was expressed by the same girl who went to summer camp as she stated she would have preferred if more Blacks were there with her.

Because I don't like...I don't really like...I feel better being around with black people because I got more comfortable. (Female)

Another student echoed this idea in talking about feeling more comfortable if he were to attend the opera and more Black people were present.

Yeah, it's like they'll be like if they feel like awkward but if they're like a majority of their race was there (opera) then they wouldn't feel that way. (Male)

Upon further discussion, it became apparent that these feelings were based on perceptions that the youth had of the White majority and not actual experiences. As the

discussion about the opera continued to progress, a very interesting debate arose as some of the youth expressed more specifically why they would feel uncomfortable.

Female 1: ...I don't have nothing against Caucasian people for just being there like the only black person there, they'll feel uncomfortable because like most rich, white people are stuck up and like if you say something, they might get rude and then people... I might get offended and say something bad so...

Male: That's just like stereotyping black people like they might say that, oh, I don't want to go by them because they act this way...But not everybody's like that.

Female 1: Yeah, and that's what I mainly see on TV like rich, well, white, rich, wealthy people like stuck up but I don't know if that's how they really are. That's the only thing I see on TV.

Female 2: Yeah, because in Orlando, I used to go to a white neighborhood. It's like most of them are rich. Some of them weren't but you guys can't say that some of them are stuck up. It's like some of them may be stuck up but not most of them.

This debate in particular highlighted a major point that was noticed throughout the course of these discussions. Many of the youth's perceptions, attitudes, and feelings about participating in activities with the White majority were based on personal perceptions and as found earlier in the case of the youth that was interested in modeling and again with the second female with this discussion, their interactions provided a different set of conclusions that were contrary to what they expected. Another interesting note from this particular talk was that the youth's perceptions were not based on what her parents, peers, or other individuals had told her; but what she had seen on television. This highlights the role of media in the free-time choices of Black youth.

Finances

In addition to race, other features such as finances were considered by the youth as contributing to them participating in certain activities. Finances were considered in two distinct ways. First finances prevented some youth from participating in certain activities.

It was something like hers. When I was little, I think I was in second grade, I went to try for...to be on like Disney Channel or something like that. And when I got there, there's a lot of white people. The people that were interviewing those were all white. The people that had the camera thing to like record us was white and everything. And I was thinking, it has no point, I've wasted my time because it's just me, my little brother and my older brother. All three of us was trying out and I was so scared that I stuttered a little bit when they were doing their thing and I was thinking, oh, forget it. They're not going to call me. And then the day after that, they called my mom and said that I made it in but they had to pay like a thousand something dollars and my mom said, "Never mind, forget it."
(Female)

Finances were also a barrier when the youth believed they could afford to participate in an activity. In those situations, they identified themselves as not fitting in because they were not in the same financial class as other participants.

I'll say no because like opera like when you go there, like when I see it on...what I've seen on TV, it's like most of the rich people will be in operas in the booths and stuff like that so if a black person's there that's not wealthy will feel uncomfortable because those people have money. You could tell by the things people wear. Like we wear cool jeans and stuff but that's not what wealthy people wear. They wear like named brand stuff but you...and they wear jewelry so I'll feel uncomfortable there. (Female)

Lack of Opportunities for Exposure

The youth had identified other activities that they and their friends would be interested in participating in such as scuba diving and skiing. These were activities that they had not considered uncommon or "non-Black". The perceived barriers to activities

such as these limited opportunities for exposure. For example, during the discussion the topic of snow skiing came up and quickly highlighted the limited opportunities for exposure to snow in South Florida, a prerequisite for snow skiing.

Because like if you live somewhere like Miami where it doesn't snow and like say if your parents have a lot of kids and they don't have enough money to like pay to go somewhere that it snows at so you can't do it but I never seen that much snow. (Female)

While snow skiing is a very expensive sport, for example, these youth felt that they would have a greater chance of participating if they were to live in a climate where they had access to snow. Another example of the lack of opportunities was revealed during the discussion about community resources. The youth identified sports programs as being the only free-time options available to them outside of the clubs offered at school. These statements suggest that while the built environment limits the youth's opportunities to engage in a wider range of activity options, the programs and services offered within the community also contribute to the limited exposure the youth receive.

Willingness to Engage in New Activities

Although there were activities that were identified as uncommon for Blacks, the youth not only believed that those activities were available to them but they were also open to trying them. When directly asked if they would be willing to try new activities, all of the youth replied 'yes'. This led to a discussion to understanding means by which they and their friends could be encouraged to explore new free-time activities. Both internal and external factors were identified. Recognizing that they were uncomfortable in settings in which Blacks were outnumbered by Whites, the youth stated that there was a need for them to have courage and motivation in order to try a new activity.

I was taught you cannot let anybody intimidate you no matter what color they are, what race they're from, how big they are, and stuff like that. So that's how I was taught. You don't let anybody intimidate you and whatever you want, you go for it. (Male)

Be willing to actually go out there and be like, oh I don't care what other people will say, I'm going to do it, like I'm going to do it for me. (Male)

While the youth recognized the need for them to be self-motivated, they believed it would be more challenging to get some of their friends to participate. Where internal factors were primarily mentioned for themselves, external factors were discussed for their peers. Among the external factors acknowledged were an *interest in the activity being proposed*, an *opportunity to participate in the activity*, and *friends to participate in the activity with*.

Discussion and Limitations

As it has been suggested that involvement in certain activities are beneficial to the positive development of youth, this study investigated the factors that contribute to the free-time choices of Black youth. Each of the respondents mentioned the significant role that their family members played in encouraging their participation in free-time activities. Family members of influence extended beyond parents to include aunts, uncles, siblings, and cousins. Outley and Floyd (2002) found that while African American parents consider race in socializing their youth into leisure activities, some seek to provide opportunities for their children to participate in mainstream activities. Focusing on distinct parenting strategies of African American parents, they provided a detailed understanding of how African American families work with extended family members to expose their youth to a wide range of leisure activities. This approach to

leisure socialization exemplifies the social-cognitive learning theory (Lesane-Brown, 2006) as these youth are exposed to leisure activities through the behaviors modeled by immediate, distant, and fictitious kin. This also points to the idea that based on the perspective of these influencers, youth may either seek to become involved in mainstream activities or limit themselves to certain “acceptable” behaviors.

In addition to family members, other sources of influence became noticeable throughout the discussion including media. While the kids outwardly stated the role of family members, later discussions revealed the impact of the media and more specifically television in shaping the views that the youth had of specific activities as well as the White majority. The media encouraged some youth to pursue professional careers similar to athletes they had come admire. The media also discouraged some youth to explore new and unfamiliar activities such as the opera, as they learned through television watching that Whites were “stuck up” and therefore did not want to interact with them. The power of the media has not yet been examined as a factor that might contribute to the differences in free-time usage along the lines of race.

Race was not deemed by the youth to be a barrier to how they spent their free-time. They believed that they could participate in any activity that was of interest to them. However, they did acknowledge that while they believed they could participate in any activity; they and other Blacks chose not to participate in certain activities. This feeling initially appeared to be a contradiction to their initial proposition. Upon further discussion it was revealed that youth felt their race didn’t prevent them from gaining access to free-time activities but it did have an indirect impact as they chose to not

participate in activities because they were uncomfortable being in settings in which they were in the minority. Personal interactions with non-Black youth and adults also contributed to the youth feeling uncomfortable.

These feelings led youth to identifying activities as being Black vs. White. This label was primarily based on who (Blacks or non-Blacks) were most likely to participate in a particular activity. While youth identified certain activities as not being common to Blacks, some did not allow this idea to prevent them from participating as a couple of youth pursued activities that were of interest to them regardless of the racial perceptions attached to the that activity. Finances were also identified as a barrier to participation to activities for these youth. Not only were youth unable to participate in activities due to limited finances, but felt uncomfortable participating in activities in which they interacted with people they considered as wealthy. In these situations, they perceived economic standing and not race as a barrier to their participation.

Despite these barriers, the youth stated that they were willing and in some cases wanted to explore activities that were unfamiliar to them and were in need of the opportunity to engage in those activities. Klieber and Mannell (1997) suggested that people are both socialized into leisure, but they are also socialized through leisure. In other words, not only do people establish leisure preferences through participation in activities; but it also through this participation or lack thereof that they learn which leisure activities are acceptable. This interaction is can be especially true for Black youth as they are given the opportunity to engage in activities previously unavailable to them.

While the findings of this study provide an initial understanding of the factors that contribute to the free-time choices of Black youth, there were a few limitations to this study that should be addressed in the future. The qualitative nature of this study limits the generalizability of the findings. As a result, efforts need to be made to assess the relationship between race and free-time activities of Black youth using a larger sample. It was also noticed that there were distinctions in how fathers engaged their sons in free-time activities. These findings suggest a need to examine gender differences among Black youth in their selection of free-time activities and how they are introduced to those activities. Finally, this study focused on the free-time choices of early adolescents. As the particular age group is still very heavily influenced by immediate and extended family members, attention should potentially be given to examining older adolescents who have more autonomy in selecting free-time activities. Such an investigation might highlight other factors that contribute to the decision making process that are not currently considered.

Practical Implications

Based on the findings of this study, youth serving organizations should reevaluate current programs and services offered to Black youth. Three recommendations can be provided towards this end. First, efforts should be made to expose Black youth to a wide range of free-time activities. Efforts such as these will not socialize youth into new free-time activities, but will also better prepare Black youth for interacting with non-Black populations. As a result youth can become more comfortable and willing to participate in activities in which they are in the minority. This will also

require professionals working with Black youth to avoid assuming they “know” the activities of greatest interest to their clients. Instead efforts should be made to discover the activities that Black youth would be interesting in exploring if the opportunity were provided. Finally, it would be beneficial for youth serving agencies to introduce their youth to Black role models who are actively engaged in some of the activities that agency is seeking to expose the youth to. Doing so will further encourage Black youth to explore free-time activities that they had previously viewed as inaccessible or undesirable.

Theory Development

This study contributes to our understanding of race and leisure is that it provides an in-depth understanding of how Black youth perceive race to influence their free-time choices. While the participants in this study did not appear to consider their race to be of significance in selecting their free-time activities, the findings suggests that race indirectly influences the free-time choices of Black youth. This indirect influence appears to be partly due to interactions that Black youth have with family members, other Blacks, and non-Blacks. These interactions which take place both in free-time and other contexts serve to socialize Black youth to understanding which activities are appropriate and acceptable for them.

While these findings are consistent with what previous findings (e.g. Kleiber & Mannel, 1997), one additional finding of this study was that the Black youth were both willing and interested in exploring and engaging in new activities. This suggests that where Black adolescents are specifically concerned exposure to free-time activities can

serve as a means of overcoming race-related barriers to participation and expanding leisure interests which might lead to lifelong free-time behaviors.

The findings provide another theoretical framework by which to examine the relationship between race and leisure. These findings suggest that as youth, Blacks are socialized to believe that there are activities which are acceptable and unacceptable. These beliefs are established through interactions with members of the youth's in-group, the White majority, and the media. It is the interpretations that Black youth develop from these interactions that determine their free-time choices. It cannot be assumed however, that all Black youth come to believe that there are certain activities that are "off-limits" to them as some come to might be socialized to believe that they are free to engage in any activity that is of interest to them.

Focus of Future Research

As we move forward in understanding the relationship between race and leisure, attention should be given to better understanding the role of socialization. First, efforts should be made to identify the behaviors by which youth are socialized to understand race and its consequences. More explicitly there is a need to examine the processes by which messages about acceptable and unacceptable free-time activities are transmitted. Doing so will provide another viable explanation for the differences in participation rates in activities based on race. Additionally, this will provide an opportunity to examine exceptions in which youth are encouraged to participate in the activities that are of interest to them despite the presence of other Blacks or the White majority.

Another aspect of socialization that must be considered is the role of others including the White majority and the media. While Outley and Floyd (2002) discuss immediate family, extended family, and fictitious kin; this field has yet to acknowledge the impact that members of the White majority might have on the free-time decisions of Blacks. Many historical accounts of the impact of the White majority on the leisure behaviors of Blacks have been provided, however little has been done to understand how current race relations are impacting behavior. As a result, attention needs to be given to examining both the interactions that Black youth have with the White majority, as well as, the perceptions that Black youth have of the White majority and how these factors contribute to their views of leisure. Sellers et al. (1997) discuss the impact of a Black person's perception of the White majority's beliefs about members of the Black race and how this might impact that individual's identity and behavior. A positive perception might serve to remove barriers to participation. Similarly, attention should be given to the messages transmitted through the media as these messages assist in shaping the perceptions of Black youth.

CONCLUSION

This research project set out to understand the nuances of racial socialization, racial identity, racial salience, and the free-time choices of Black adolescents. Using previous research which links racial socialization and racial identity to a broad array of behaviors, the MIBI-t was adopted and SORIL was adapted to understand the relationship of racial socialization, racial identity, and free-time use among Black adolescents.

Using online surveys, the relationship between racial socialization behaviors and the development of racial ideologies was described in the first sections. Findings suggest that specific racial socialization practices contribute to the development of some of the racial ideologies. While some relationships between racial socialization the racial ideologies were found, some of these relationships were unexpected. These findings tell researchers that specific practices are related to the racial ideologies developed by Black youth. Additionally, they suggest the need for a better understanding of the race-related messages received by Black youth and how these messages impact their global identity. These findings coupled with Sellers et al's (1997) conceptualization of racial ideology also suggest the need to reexamine how racial ideology is measured. Instead of attempting to measure a global ideology from which all behaviors can be predicted, attempts should be made to create and define racial ideology profiles that explain the interactions amongst the four racial ideologies.

Next, the level of saliency that Black youth give to race in leisure settings was examined. The SORIL questionnaire was introduced and tested as a potential means of

determining the level of importance that Blacks give to their race when selecting free-time activities. While four variables were expected, the items loaded into three groups. The items corresponding with the nationalist and oppressed minority categories loaded into a single variable. The reliability for the items within these three factor loadings however, was very high. These findings provide initial support for the usefulness of this tool in evaluating the extent to which one considers their race when choosing free-time activities to participate in.

In the final section, focus groups were conducted to understand how Black youth perceived race to influence their free-time activity choices. Three themes emerged from these discussions. First, it was very apparent that youth are highly influenced by family, friends, and the media. These interactions helped shape their perceptions about the appropriateness of certain free-time activities for Blacks. These perceptions served as barriers to their participation however, they stated being willing to explore new activities if the opportunity was provided. These findings provided both practical implications for professionals working with Black youth as well as theoretical implications for the field.

Theoretical Contributions

Broadly, this study has focused on racial identity and salience of race in the selection of leisure activities. This study provides an alternative explanation for understanding how race impacts the leisure choices of Blacks, by relying on multiple theoretical frameworks. Black youth receive multiple messages about their status in society and its associated consequences as a result of their race (racial socialization). These messages assist in the development of their racial identity as well as their

perspectives of the behaviors and activities that are most appropriate for them to engage in. This racial identity however, is not always the most important identity that contributes to Black youth's self-concept (racial salience). As youth possess multiple identities, attention must be given to acknowledging which identity youth consider to be of greatest importance within a given context such as leisure. It is this level of salience coupled with the individual's racial identity that is most likely to impact the youth free-time decisions. Similar to how these youth can receive messages that discourage participation in specific activities; specific behaviors of parents, peers, and others can encourage Black youth to explore activities that are not traditionally pursued by Blacks. This suggests that both socialization and salience of race can contribute in explaining variances that might occur in the activity preferences among Black youth.

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APPENDIX A

Sample Online QuestionnaireSection 1: Background Information

- 1A. Are you ☐ Male or ☐ Female?
- 1B. What is your age? _____ years old
- 1C. In school, what grade are you in? _____ grade.
- 1D. Which parents do you live with during the school year? (check one, if you check "other," please describe on the line)
- ☐ Both my mother and my father in the same house
 - ☐ Only my mother
 - ☐ My mother and stepfather
 - ☐ Only my father
 - ☐ My father and stepmother
 - ☐ Sometimes with my father and sometimes with my mother
 - ☐ Other relatives
 - ☐ A guardian or foster parent
 - ☐ Other arrangements: _____
- 1E. Which racial group(s) do you identify with? (Please check all that apply)
- ☐ African-American
 - ☐ Asian/Pacific Islander
 - ☐ Latino/Hispanic
 - ☐ White
 - ☐ American Indian/Alaska Native
 - ☐ Other (please describe): _____
- 1F. What language is USUALLY spoken at home?
- ☐ English
 - ☐ Spanish
 - ☐ Both English and Spanish
 - ☐ Other (please describe): _____
- 1G. Do you receive free or reduced lunch?
- ☐ Yes or ☐ No

Section 2: Racial Identity (to be answered by African American Youth only)

| How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neither Agree or Disagree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|---------------------------|-------|----------------|
| 1. I feel close to other Black people. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 2. I think it is important for Blacks not to act Black around White people. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 3. Blacks should support Black entertainment by going to Black movies and watching Black TV shows. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 4. I have a strong sense of belonging to other Black people. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 5. People of all minority groups should stick together and fight discrimination. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 6. Blacks should think of themselves as individuals, not as Blacks. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 7. Blacks should spend less time focusing on how we differ from other minority groups and more time focusing on how we are similar to people from other minority groups. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 8. If I were to describe myself to someone, one of the first things that I would say is that I'm Black. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 9. There are other people who experience discrimination similar to Blacks. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 10. It is important that Blacks go to White Schools so that they can learn how to act around Whites. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 11. Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from Black businesses. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 12. Black parents should surround their children with Black art and Black books. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 13. Blacks should act more like Whites to be successful in this society. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 14. Black people should not consider race when deciding what movies to go see. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 15. Being an individual is more important than identifying yourself as Black. | SD | D | N | A | SA |

| How often do your parents do the following? | Never | Rarely | Ever | Often | Very Often |
|--|-------|--------|------|-------|------------|
| 16. Read you Black history books | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. Talk to you about racism | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18. Tell you to distrust Whites | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. Tell you people might treat you badly due to race | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. Explain to you something you saw on TV showed poor treatment of Blacks | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21. Read you Black story books | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22. Tell you that people might try to limit you because of race | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 23. Talk to you about fight for equality among Blacks | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 24. Take you to Black cultural events | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 25. Tell you to keep your distance from Whites | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 26. Talk to you about things you mislearned in school | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 27. Tell you, you must be better than White kids to get the same rewards | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 28. Do things to celebrate Black history | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 29. Take you to get Black clothes or hairstyles | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 30. Talk about race to others while you're around | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 31. Talk to you about racial differences in physical features | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

The next few questions are about messages you might have received to help you know what it means to be Black and know how to deal with people outside your race. Please check the box on the right to indicate how often the following people talked with you about these issues when you were growing up.

| | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Fairly Often | Very Often |
|--|-------|--------|-----------|--------------|------------|
| 32. How often did your parents or the people who raised you talk with you about what it means to be Black and how to deal with people outside your race? Would you say very often, fairly often, sometimes, rarely, never? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 33. Not including your parents or the people who raised you, how often did other close relatives such as your brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles and grandparents talk with you about what it means to be Black and how to deal with people outside your race? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 34. How about your friends? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 35. How about other adults such as members of your place of worship, your teachers, or neighbors? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

What is your favorite activity to participate in when you're NOT in school? _____

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neither Agree or Disagree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|-------------------|----------|---------------------------|-------|----------------|
| 36. Race is not an issue when I participate in my favorite activity. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 37. I have been discouraged or not allowed to participate because I'm Black, while participating in my favorite activity. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 38. Participating in my favorite activity is the best way to get ahead in life. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 39. I believe that racism does not exist when I participate in my favorite activity. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 40. The best participants are always the ones to achieve the most. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 41. Race is not an important factor in determining how well I do when participating in my favorite activity. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 42. I have personally experienced racism while participating in my favorite activity. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 43. I have been told to stay away from White people in order to be successful in my favorite activity. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 44. I have been called bad names because I'm Black, while participating in my favorite activity. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 45. I do not get the credit I deserve for doing well in my favorite activity because I'm Black. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 46. I prefer to participate in my favorite activity with other Black people. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 47. I have chosen not to participate in my favorite activity because of racism. | SD | D | N | A | SA |

| | | | | | |
|--|----|---|---|---|----|
| 48. I think about quitting in my favorite activity so that I do not have to be around people who aren't Black. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 49. I choose not to hang out with certain people outside of my favorite activity because they are not Black. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 50. I have less interest in my favorite activity because of my involvement in activities that teach me about my race. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 51. I believe that it is important to celebrate my race and still participate in my favorite activity with people who aren't Black. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 52. I have learned things about my race that have helped me to deal with people that aren't Black. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 53. I believe it is important to understand that people from different races can participate in my favorite activity. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 54. It is important to represent my race and help people from other races feel comfortable while participating in my favorite activity. | SD | D | N | A | SA |
| 55. I have participated in my favorite activity with people who aren't Black because it is important to be around people from other races. | SD | D | N | A | SA |

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions

1. Tell me about the environment you grew up in (family, neighborhood, school).
2. Who influences the activities you participate in during your free-time?
3. Do you think there is any unfairness in certain free-time activities for Blacks? If so, which activities?
4. Do you ever feel alone as a Black person in certain activities?
5. How does being Black affect your participation in free-time activities?
6. Do you believe you have an equal opportunity to participate in all free-time activities?
7. Are there any activities that you believe you Black people can't do? Why do you feel this way?
8. Are there any activities that your friends feel Black people shouldn't participate? What do you think about this?
9. Are there any free-time activities where you are the only Black person or one of a few Black people participating? How do feel in those situations? How do non-Blacks treat you?
10. Is there anything additional that you would like to add about this topic?

VITA

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